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John Christopher Bettley

"North Italian liturgical music in the late 16th century"

ABSTRACT

This is a study of published sacred polyphonic vocal music by composers working in the Venetian Republic and adjacent territories, from the late 1560s, when the decrees of the Council of Trent were implemented in regional councils, to the earliest years of the new century, when the economic prosperity of Venice was starting to wane. The prosperity and stability of the Republic, characteristics of Venetian art and architecture, the influence of Humanist ideas through the flourishing intellectual Academies, the deep spirituality of the region and the interpretations of the regional councils are all found to be important external factors influencing the cultivation of the predominantly homophonic style in liturgical music of the period.

Chapter II examines the state of the liturgy in North Italy, the role of music in the Mass, the major Offices, and processions, and creates a comprehensive picture of the life and organization of the cappella.

The rich musical repertory is discussed in detail under four main headings: settings of the Mass Ordinary; psalms and Magnificats; motets; and complementary music for liturgical celebrations. Pieces under discussion are illustrated by many musical examples and by transcriptions of complete pieces and movements. Distinctive stylistic and formal trends, such as falsobordone and the use of refrains, are highlighted.

Discussion of performance practice in the period includes analysis of documentary evidence of early instances of performance in the concerto manner, and of instrumental participation and substitution.

NORTH ITALIAN LITURGICAL MUSIC IN THE LATE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY OF THE POLYPHONIC
VOCAL REPERTORY FROM c. 1570 to c. 1605

by

John Christopher Bettley
(University College)

Submitted for the degree of Master of Music
in the Faculty of Arts , University of Durham

July 1987

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21 NOV 1988

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PREFACE

In the Preface to his major study of the career and compositions of Giovanni Gabrieli - Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance (London, 1979) - Denis Arnold notes that the Venetian school of composition of the late 16th century "still lacks a major study of its music in any language" (p.viii). The present dissertation does not aspire to the role of such an exhaustive study of the Venetian repertory in particular; it aims, rather, to present a comprehensive survey of liturgical polyphonic vocal music composed in the whole of the Venetian Republic in the late 16th century, whilst giving due weight to the importance of the corpus of sacred music by composers employed at the basilica of S. Marco, and identifying the presence of both Venetian and "reform" characteristics in adjacent territories in North Italy.

Musicians often moved freely within the North Italian region, regardless of political boundaries between the separate territorial entities, and influenced, rather, by personal quest for promotion and enhanced status; movement outside the region in search of advancement was rare, and Massaino's willingness to leave North Italy for the attractions of Innsbruck and Salzburg was exceptional. Details of appointments and biography are only referred to when these have a direct bearing on the discussion of a publication or institution; comprehensive biographical details on the majority of composers referred to in this dissertation are to be found in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 1980; in view of this authoritative provision, it has been considered unnecessary to provide a separate Personalia.

I am grateful both to Professor Arnold and to Dr. Jerome Roche for suggesting the area for research; I owe the greatest debt to Dr. Roche for his patience and encouragement in the supervision of my work on the project.

The directors and staff of many libraries and institutions have been most helpful in the course of the preparation of this dissertation: the staff of the University Libraries of Durham and Leeds; the librarians of the Music Sections of the Senate House Library, University of London, of the British Library, and of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the staff of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna, and of the Music Department of the Università degli studi, Bologna, and, in particular, Professore Giuseppe Vecchi for his advice and generous donation of a modern edition of the Banchieri mass of 1595; Don Emilio Spada, archivist of Brescia Cathedral, and Dottore Valletti in assisting with the location of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Queriniana, Brescia; Professore Enrico Paganuzzi of the Biblioteca Accademia Filarmonica, Verona, and the director of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona; Padre Luisetto, director of the Biblioteca Antoniana, Padova; Don Ettore Sozzi of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Forlì; the director of the Archivio Capitolare, Faenza; Monsignor Fernando Mariotti of the Curia Archivescovile, Ferrara, the director of the Conservatorio di Musica "G. Frescobaldi", Ferrara, and Professore Adriano Cavicchi; the director of the Archivio Capitolare, Modena; and the director of the Archivio Comunale, Salò.

I am also most grateful for assistance with translation of longer articles in German from Dr. Nigel Palmer and Mr. Keith

Doman, for suggestions on the more esoteric points of late Renaissance Latin from Mr. Max Lyne, and to Mr. David Martin for acting as intermediary with the thesis section of the British Library Lending Division.

ABBREVIATIONS

Voices and Choirs

C.	=	Cantus	CI	=	Cantus of Choir I
A.	=	Altus	TII	=	Tenor of Choir II
T.	=	Tenor	etc.		
B.	=	Bassus	<u>a8</u>	=	for eight voices etc.
Q.	=	Quintus			
Sex.	=	Sextus			
Sep.	=	Septimus			
Oct.	=	Octavus			

A voice referred to with an initial capital letter is a specific voice in the composition; a voice-part referred to in lower-case implies a vocal range approximately equivalent to that of a modern vocal-part.

Clefs

Numbers after the three clef-letters refer to positioning of the clef in relation to the lowest line of the stave. Thus G2 implies a treble clef on the second line of the stave from the bottom; C3 implies a C clef on the middle line of the stave (i.e. modern viola clef); F4 implies a modern bass clef.

Pitch

Throughout this dissertation, c' refers to middle C; a' to the A above middle C; c'' to the C an octave above middle C; a'' to the A an octave and a sixth above middle C; c to the C an octave below middle C; C to the equivalent note two octaves below middle C. All pitches refer to untransposed notes.

Publications

Arnold G = Arnold, Denis, Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance, London, 1979.

ublications (cont...)

- Casimiri P = Casimiri, Raffaele, Musica e Musicisti nella Cattedrale di Padova nei sec. XIV, XV, XVI: contributo per una storia, Rome, 1942.
- Commer = Commer, F. (ed.), Musica sacra, Berlin and Regensburg, 1839-87.
- Garbelotto V = Garbelotto, Antonio, "La cappella musicale di S. Antonio in Padova; Profilo storico-documentario dagli inizi a tutto il '500", Il Santo, Anno V.
- Garbelotto VI = op.cit., Anno VI.
- Garbelotto IX = op.cit., Anno IX.
- Garbelotto X = op.cit., Anno X.
- Lockwood CR = Lockwood, Lewis, "The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo", Studi di Musica Veneta, ii, Venice, 1970.
- Roncaglia M = "La cappella musicale del duomo di Modena", Historiae Musicae Cultores Bibliotheca, v, Florence, 1957.
- Torchi = Torchi, Luigi, L'Arte musicale in Italia: Secolo XVI, voll. i, ii, repr. Milan, 1959, 1968.
- IMAMI = Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana.
- JAMS = Journal of the American Musicological Society.
- MQ = Musical Quarterly.
- NA = Note d'Archivio.
- ed.; edn. = editor, edited; edition
- fn. = footnote
- fol., foll. = folio, folios
- p. = page
- repr. = reprinted
- r. = recto
- rev. = revised

transcr. = transcribed
transl. = translated
Univ. = University
vol. voll. = volume, volumes
vp. = voci pari
vv. = voices

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

<u>No.</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Piece from which example taken</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Year of first extant publication</u>
<u>Chapter III</u>				
1.	Ruffo	<u>Missa de Feria</u>	5	1572/80
2.	"	<u>"</u>	5	1572/80
3.	Asola	<u>Missa tertia</u>	5	1588
4.	Croce	<u>Missa prima</u>	5	1596
5.	Asola	<u>Missa Escoutez</u>	5	1570
	Janequin	<u>Escoutés</u>	5	1555
6.	Gombert	<u>Aspice Domine</u>	4	1539
7.	Canali	<u>Missa Spiritus Domini</u>	4	1588
8.	Asola	<u>Missa Regina coeli</u>	8	1588
9.	Sorte	<u>Missa a8</u>	8	1596
10.	Gastoldi	<u>Missa Quam suavis</u>	8	1600
11.	Croce	<u>Missa Battaglia</u>	8	1596
12.	Nanino	<u>Erano i capei d'oro</u>	5	1579
<u>Chapter IV</u>				
1.	Colombano	<u>In exitu</u>	5	1592
2.	Croce	<u>Magnificat secundi toni</u>	6	1605
3.	Ruffo	<u>Magnificat sexti toni</u>	5	1578
4.	Isnardi	<u>Domine probasti</u>	5	1569
5.	Ruffo	<u>Beatus vir</u>	5	1574
6.	Viadana	<u>Lauda Hierusalem</u>	5	1597
7.	Viadana	<u>In exitu Israel</u>	5	1597
8.	Asola	<u>Qui habitat</u>	4	1583
9.	Giovanelli	<u>Tirsi io mi parto à Dio</u>	5	1593

<u>No.</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Piece from which example taken</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Year of first extant publication</u>
<u>Chapter V</u>				
1.	Croce	<u>Incipite Domino</u>	8	1595
2.	Croce	<u>O viri, O galilaei</u>	8	1595
3.	(a) Massaino	<u>O quam suavis</u>	1	1607
	(b) "	"	1	1607
	(c) "	"	1	1607
4.	Naldi	<u>Alma redemptoris</u>	8	1600
5.	(a) Massaino	<u>Filiae Hierusalem</u>	5	1576
	(b) "	<u>Triumpharunt</u>	5	1576
	(c) "	<u>Emendemus in melius</u>	5	1576
	(d) "	<u>Quando nil superet</u>	5	1576
6.	"	<u>Decantabat</u>	5	1590
7.	"	<u>Maria Magdalene</u>	9	1592
8.	(a) "	<u>O Virgo Virginum</u>	6	1596
	(b) "	<u>Adorna thalamum</u>	6	1596
	(c) "	<u>Illumina oculos meos</u>	6	1596
	(d) "	<u>Benedictus Dominus</u>	6	1596
9.	(a) "	<u>Angelus Domini</u>	7	1607
	(b) "	<u>Petite et accipietis</u>	7	1607
10.	"	<u>Anima mea liquefacta est</u>	1	1607
11.	Zallamella	<u>Versa est in luctum</u>	5	1582
12.	Vinci	<u>Plange urbs Bergamea</u>	5	1572
13.	Orazio Vecchi	<u>Cantate Domino</u>	4	1590
14.	"	<u>Exultate iusti</u>	8	1597
15.	(a) Croce	<u>Omnes gentes</u>	8	1594
	(b) "	<u>Anima mea liquefacta</u>	8	1594
16.	"	<u>Deus misereatur</u>	8	1594
17.	(a) "	<u>Buccinate</u>	8	1595
	(b) "	"	8	1595
	(c) "	"	8	1595
18.	"	<u>O triste spectaculum</u>	8	1595
19.	"	<u>Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas</u>	5	1601

<u>No.</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Piece from which example taken</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Year of first extant publication</u>
20.	Croce	<u>Hodie completi sunt</u>	5	1601
21.	Bassano	<u>Omnes gentes</u>	8	1599
22.	Trombetti	<u>Regna terrae</u>	8	1589
23. (a)	"	<u>Iubilate Deo</u>	8	1589
(b)	"	<u>"</u>	8	1589

Chapter VI

1.	Asola	<u>Officium Defunctorum</u>	4	1593
2.	Viadana	<u>Officium Defunctorum</u>	4	1600
3.	Asola	<u>Musices Maioris Hebdomadae Sanctae</u>	4	1584
4. (a)	"	<u>Improperia</u>	3	1588
(b)	"	<u>"</u>	3	1588
5. (a)	Contino	<u>Lamentationes</u>	5	1561
(b)	Croce	<u>Lamentationes</u>	4	1597
6.	Fonghetti	<u>Lamentationes</u>	3	1595
7.	Isnardi	<u>Lamentationes</u>	4	1584

Chapter VII

1.	Asola	<u>Magnificat al2</u>	12	1590
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Chapter VIII

1.	Orazio Vecchi	<u>Domine Dominus noster</u>	7	1597
2.	Corona	<u>Laetatus sum</u>	6	1579
3.	Massaino	<u>Missa Veni dilecte mi</u>	5	1587
4.	Cortellini	<u>Magnificat primi toni</u>	6	1595

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTIONS OF COMPLETE PIECES OR MOVEMENTS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title of piece (and movement)</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Year of first extant publication</u>
1.	Giulio Belli	<u>Missa brevis (Credo)</u>	5	1586
2.	Giulio Belli	<u>Missa brevis (Credo)</u>	8	1595
3.	Pontio	<u>Missa sine nomine (Gloria)</u>	8	1585
4.	Tudini	<u>Missa prima (Gloria)</u>	5	1589
5.	Rota	<u>Missa brevis (Gloria)</u>	4	1595
6.	Isnardi	<u>Missa Ego clamavi (Credo)</u>	5	1581
7.	Massaino	<u>Missa Veni dilecte mi (Credo)</u>	5	1587
8.	Antegnati	<u>Missa Nasce la pena mia (Credo)</u>	8	1578
9.	Croce	<u>Missa Percussit Saul (Credo)</u>	8	1596
10.	Mortaro	<u>Missa Erano i capei d'oro</u> <u>(Kyrie and Gloria)</u>	12	1599
11.	Isnardi	<u>Magnificat sexti toni</u>	4	1585
12.	Ratti	<u>Confitebor tibi</u>	5	1605
13.	Corona	<u>Laetatus sum</u>	6	1579
14.	Rossi	<u>De profundis</u>	4	1578
15.	Colombano	<u>In convertendo</u>	5	1584
16.	Gastoldi	<u>Credidi</u>	5	1592
17.	Gastoldi	<u>Dixit Dominus</u>	5	1602
18.	Cortellini	<u>Magnificat primi toni</u>	6	1595
19.	Pontio	<u>Magnificat primi toni</u>	5	1584
20.	Chamatero	<u>Magnificat a9</u>	9	1575
21.	Colombano	<u>Domine probasti</u>	9	1587
22.	Antegnati	<u>Lauda Jerusalem Dominum</u>	8	1592
23.	Giulio Belli	<u>Laetatus sum</u>	8	1596
24.	Giulio Belli	<u>Laetatus sum</u>	6	1603
25.	Baccusi	<u>Aspice Domine</u>	6	1579
26.	Girolamo Belli	<u>Duo Seraphim</u>	6	1585
27.	Croce	<u>Ingredimini omnes</u>	8	1595
28.	Pratoneri	<u>Hodie Virgo Maria</u>	8	1584
29.	Giulio Belli	<u>Tota pulchra es</u>	8	1595
30.	Giulio Belli	<u>Audivi vocem de coelo</u>	6	1600
31.	Croce	<u>Percussit Saul mille</u>	8	1594
32.	Balbi	<u>De profundis</u>	4	1578
33.	Canali	<u>Salve regina</u>	4	1581
34.	Croce	<u>Virgo decus</u>	8	1594

<u>No.</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title of piece (and movement)</u>	<u>No. of voices</u>	<u>Year of first extant publication</u>
35.	Asola	<u>Alma redemptoris mater</u>	6	1576
36.	Ingegneri	<u>Five hymns:</u> <u>Tibi Christe splendor</u> <u>Christe redemptor omnium</u> <u>Lucis creator optime</u> <u>Exultet coelum laudibus</u> <u>Tristes erant Apostoli</u>	4	1606
37.	Orazio Vecchi	<u>Pange lingua</u>	8	1590
38.	Asola	<u>Missa Secundi Toni (Credo)</u>	5	1591
39.	Baccusi	<u>Missa Aspice Domine (Gloria)</u>	5	1570
40.	Ruffo	<u>Confitebor ... in consilio</u>	5	1574
41.	Mainerio	<u>Magnificat quinti toni</u>	4	1574
42.	Zallamella	<u>Gaudete in Domino</u>	5	1582
43.	Massaino	<u>Veni sponsa Christi</u>	7	1607
44.	Orazio Vecchi	<u>Domine Dominus noster</u>	7	1597
45.	Agostino Bendinelli	<u>Iubilate Deo</u>	4	1592
46.	Merulo	<u>Laetabimur in salutari tuo</u>	6	1593
47.	Quintiani	<u>Introit for the Mass of the</u> <u>Vigil of Christmas Day</u>	4	1599
48.	Mortaro	<u>Magnificat Tirsi io mi part'à Dio</u>	12	1599

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Frontispiece: The Republic of Venice and
adjacent territories in the late 16th century.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

i) The political and economic stability of the Venetian Republic

The dominion of the Venetians is divided into two partes ... of the two they account the firme lande revenue to bee the greater, especially their possessions in Lombardie are marvellous rich and avayleable unto them: where ... they possesse seven faire cities, as Trevigo (sic), Padova, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema.

This description - an English translation of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's account of Venice's customs and possessions¹ - is a comparatively sober foil to the heady encomia to "La Serenissima" herself, the principal city of the Republic. Venice's mainland provinces, known collectively as the terraferma, had been acquired primarily to protect its goods from being obstructed in their passage by inland rulers. To the west, Vicenza, Verona and Padua were annexed by 1405, Brescia by 1426, Bergamo by 1428 and Crema by 1447; to the north, Belluno and Feltre were taken by 1420. The acquisition of Ravenna and cities of Romagna to the south was reversed in 1509 to the advantage of the Pope; Cremona, taken in 1499, was held by the Venetian Republic for only ten years². The duchies of Mantua and Ferrara, so attractive to the Venetian Republic, were never taken; the defeats of Venice by the League of Cambrai forces in 1509 deprived the Republic of some of its new empire and marked the end of further conquest. Venice's emulation of the provincialism of the Classical Roman Empire was hubristically deliberate; its claim to represent the rebirth of Roman civilisation led to the adoption of the motto SPQV³, and, as Venice exerted its cultural influence



over cities of its domain, so the lion of St. Mark became a tangible sign of domination on buildings in affiliated cities such as Bergamo.

By 1570, the population of the terraferma was about two million; Classical Roman provincialism was reflected in the policy of a certain proportion of autonomy being granted to a city whilst Venetian patricians took over the high-ranking administrative posts. Venice was in effective control of revenues from estates, taxation and customs duties. It is significant that a city would have up to two treasurers, as opposed to one governor and one captain of the district's soldiers⁴. Patronage of bishoprics and religious establishments of the terraferma was a similar extensive source of revenue⁵, and Venetian patricians were quick to take advantage of the situation; as a result, almost all terraferma bishops of the 16th century were Venetian nobles, the notable exceptions being Giberti in Verona and Ormaneto in Padua⁶.

The temporary challenges to Venetian prosperity caused by the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to the East and Turkish piracy had caused Venice to develop industry and agriculture on the mainland, for export, notably high-quality woollen cloth. Bergamo in 1596 was producing more than three times as many cloths as in 1540. Sulphur, raw silk and rice were other products of the hinterland⁷.

Despite this appropriation of wealth, cities farthest from Venice itself readily remained loyal to the capital. Logan surmises that the fidelity of the Brescians and Bergamese was possibly strengthened by their proximity to the Duchy of

Milan, under Spanish domination⁸. Coryat in his travels in the early 17th century commented on the "extreme hatred betwixt the Milanois and the Spaniards"⁹. Only the Venetian Republic, of all Italian states, was really independent of Spanish influence, because of its high level of commercial prosperity in the 1560s; it was in the interests of the inhabitants of Bergamo and Brescia to prolong this position, in order to retain Venetian protection.

Venetian help was granted also in times of natural emergency. The plague, which destroyed three tenths of Venice's population in the mid-1570s, even more seriously affected cities on the mainland, especially Brescia and Padua¹⁰. Quarantine regulations enforcing periods of house confinement of up to forty days entailed widespread unemployment due to lack of trade. The Venetian Senate is recorded as having raised funds for the population of the beleaguered cities. Hardships in the capital due to famine were likewise alleviated by an incentive to families on the mainland to farm greater quantities of land to provide sufficient foodstuffs. Venice weathered the bad famine year of 1591 without recourse to imported grain, due to its policy of self-sufficiency¹¹. Investment in land was made at a rapidly increasing rate between 1580 and 1630, with the result that, by 1636, Venetians owned over 11 per cent of the land east of the river Mincio¹².

Inhabitants of the less agriculturally-rich regions were attracted to the major cities of the Republic and to the capital itself by the opportunities for employment created by the 1570s' plague. Inhabitants of the province of Bergamo were an important source of migrant labour to Venice, and

their arrival helped to remedy the loss of unskilled labour and stabilized wages in that sector. Due to the rapid rise in wheat prices, however, the real wage must have diminished substantially by the 1590s, only recovering in the early 17th century with the fall in the cost of grain¹³.

Venice survived the 1575-7 plague with reasonable equanimity and the high level of prosperity and standard of living was maintained. The prevalent mood in the last quarter of the century was one of optimism. The confident affirmation in 1579 of the Venetian historian Paolo Peruta, that Venice would have a great future, was echoed by Nicolo Contarini's description of a prosperity greater than ever before¹⁴. But long-term self-satisfaction proved to be unfounded; for although financial equilibrium, disrupted by the war with Turkey, had been re-established by 1584, the Venetian spice trade had recovered due to the inability of rival Portugal to maintain supplies on the Cape route, and revenue from anchorage taxes and customs receipts was to increase steadily until the early years of the 17th century, yet internal and external influences were already indicating a recession. Workers' guilds imposed rigid controls on manufacturing processes in the cloth industry which caused techniques to become outdated and products uncompetitive against those of foreign suppliers, such as England and Holland¹⁵. Whereas the Portugese had failed to divert the spice trade from Venice by use of the Cape route, England and Holland succeeded and established themselves as rival sea-powers in the Mediterranean¹⁶. The Turkish war had disrupted the shipbuilding industry which went into an irreversible decline; the increased revenue from

harbour taxes was due to the use by Venetian merchants of better-designed foreign ships, a trend which finally resulted in 1602 in a policy of naval protection which destroyed Venice's viability as a trading port. Disruption of trade in goods from the East to Germany was reflected in greatly reduced customs receipts at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, a situation only aggravated later by the effective closure of Germany as a market due to the Thirty Years War. By 1610 Venice had slipped into economic depression¹⁷.

The moral and economic stability which Venice retained to the last years of the 16th century was not shared by its immediate neighbours, or by other great cultural centres in Italy. Florentine financial power declined, and the resultant collapse of a sense of security produced an atmosphere of deep anxiety which contrasted with the order and sublime self-assurance of its Renaissance movement. The sack of Rome in 1527 by German Lutheran troops had a deeply disturbing effect, not least on the author Castiglione, who in his dress and manners was a model of equanimity, but who was acutely affected by the barbarous act of political retribution. In response to their foreign political and economic domination, the Milanese upper classes developed a taste for spagnolismo - bizarre ostentation in the Spanish manner. The territory to the immediate south of the Republic was occupied by small duchies: that of Ferrara had been held by the Este succession from 1240 until the land was incorporated into the Papal states in 1598 from which date the Este capital was re-established at Modena. Mantua was ruled by the dukes of Gonzaga. The territories of Parma and Piacenza were granted

in 1545 to the son of Pope Paul III. The courts at their hub were focal points of artistic experiment and licence, exclusive centres of privilege and lavish patronage where elitist intellectual activity flourished. The society structure of Venice was dissimilar by virtue of its more open political system, subject to constant monitoring and the more widely philanthropic attitude of its oligarchy, and, until the last decade of the 16th century, prosperous and confident.

It is not intended at this juncture to analyse the phenomenon of Mannerism which featured so strongly in the culture of these neighbours of the Republic, nor to give the impression that it itself stood entirely aloof from the desire for contrivance, virtuosity, paradox, elegance, preciousness and ornamentation which their art-forms exhibited, whether these characteristics stemmed from the anxiety at economic and moral disintegration or from the distracting rhetoric of the courts inbred and nurtured through lack of realism. Examples of Mannerist culture are evident in the Republic in the fanciful fireplace of Vittoria at the Palazzo Thiene at Vicenza¹⁸; also in Vicenza, significantly, Angelo Ingegneri directed the messinscena of Oedipus in 1585 and was a member of the Academy there as well as of the Innominati of Parma¹⁹. Ingegneri was closely connected with the Mannerist influences at the courts of Ferrara, Rome, Urbino, Turin and Parma. Verona was a staging-post for artistic influences coming from Mantua and central Italy, and destined for Northern Europe via the Brenner Pass; from Verona nearby Vicenza received many such influences including that of

Giulio Romano. Furthermore, the highly artificial style of 16th century tragedy, emanating from Ferrara and Mantua, had a representative in Padua in Speroni's Canace, performed in 1541²⁰.

But the basis of such productions was in activities centred outside the Republic. Although Zarlino in Venice appreciated "grace and elegance" and composed the music for a dramatic piece entitled Orfeo and Latin verses by Rocco Benedetti, it is unlikely that it was conceived in any Mannerist or reservata idiom. Benedetti, in his account of the "allegrezze, solennità, e feste, fatte in Venetia" for the celebration of the victory of Lepanto, describes the solemn mass of the Holy Spirit, for which Zarlino as maestro di cappella, or Andrea Gabrieli, his subordinate, may have written the music, as:

concerti divinissimi, perche sonandosi quando l'uno,
e quando l'altro organo con ogni sorte di stromenti,
e di voci, conspirarano ambi a un tempo in un tuono²¹

hardly an indication of complex Mannerist subtlety.

The economic and political stability of the Republic seemed to insulate its artists and composers from the side-effects of the intense Mannerist involvement. Andrea Gabrieli journeyed extensively north of the Dolomites and had artistic connections with the courts of Munich and Graz²²; Lassus' extensive influence on Andrea and also on Giovanni Gabrieli stopped short of the Mannerist Angst, evident in Lassus' late manic depression. Hauser draws attention to the increase of cases of neurosis and eccentricity among Mannerist artists²³: the diary of the Florentine Pontormo records him as neurotically preoccupied with his work and also with the state of his bowels,

and morbidly introspective. The sensitive early Mannerist Parmigianino finally succumbed to his neurotic temperament and, in Vasari's description, "changed from the delicate, amiable and elegant person that he was, to a bearded, long-haired, neglected, and almost savage or wild man"; he was buried according to his wishes, "naked ... and with a cross of cypress placed upright on his breast"²⁴. The poet Tasso, whose style depended on deliberate obscurity, achieved by use of arcane references, exotic words, disguised sense and unconventional word-order²⁵, was likewise mentally unbalanced in later life. In early 17th century England the musical and literary output testifies to the "fashionable" artistic expression of the complaint of melancholy: the madrigalist Wilbye was himself extremely sensitive and melancholy, and the medium for which he is most celebrated was itself the main Mannerist vehicle in Italy. Leighton's musical compilation of 1603 was significantly entitled The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfulle Soule. One of the contributing composers, Dowland, elsewhere reinforced the tendency in his Lachrimae. That this mood of assumed despair was so strong in England is a powerful indication of the intensity of the original feeling in the country of its origin.

The traits of Central Italian and courtly mannerism are evident only to a partial and varying degree in the culture of the Republic. Its artists and composers absorbed many of its qualities into a pre-existent Venetian style without sacrificing their whole artistic identity to the more universal fashion. The artistic vocabulary of Mannerism, suggests Freedberg with respect to the painting of the mid-century, was transformed

into "the distinct language of the Venetian style" by a process of "creative synthesis"²⁶. The nature of Mannerism alters in its adaptation to the Venetian style, becoming "diffuse and imprecise"²⁷. Shearman suggests that Venice's artistic role in the 16th century was as the main centre of continuity between the High Renaissance and the Baroque; he cites Titian's use of unified structure as opposed to the typically Mannerist unfused elements of decoration, whilst still employing strong colour contrasts²⁸. So, the Florentine Mannerist, Vasari, had reservations about the style of the Venetian painter Tintoretto, even though his style is highly charged with powerful effects of colour, use of light, movement, and contrasts of scale²⁹.

ii) Stylistic parallels between painting, architecture and music in the Republic

It is perhaps not an illogical consequent to seek a musical parallel to the qualities demonstrated in the paintings on sacred subjects by this artist who was active in Venice during the last half of the 16th century; Reese takes Andrea Gabrieli as a comparison³⁰, whilst Ambros compares Giovanni with the earlier Titian³¹. Despite this anachronism however, a constructive principle still stands, which Lowinsky invokes, in an essay broadly linking music with contemporary culture, to correlate harmonic thinking with perspective in painting³². One has not far to search to experience the striking instrumental colouring, the incisive brush-strokes of rhythm, use of softer, evocative shades to transmit warmth and sweetness achieved often by chromatic inflection; for such musical equivalents are the life-blood of the language of Venetian

polychoral sacred music of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Not that direct influences from one medium to the other should be sought, but rather that the transfusing of these elements of style suggests that the two modes of expression were motivated by a common artistic temper which, though demonstrating many Manneristic features, was not affected by the essential dissipation of energy which was the characteristic of total commitment to Mannerism.

The vivid Venetian use of colour by Schiavone and Tintoretto was in itself a Mannerist exaggeration of the colouring of Titian³³. Tintoretto's name - a sobriquet deriving from his father's trade of dyer - reflects his pursuit of daring colour effects. (Sansovino refers to him as Tintorello)³⁴. This Venetian characteristic may have influenced Vicentino in the formulation of his chromatic theories which were in turn possibly indebted to Willaert. Similarly the vivid tinting of Venetian painting is transfused into the striking instrumental resources of sacred choral music where high cornetto lines impart brilliance to the rich sonorities below, and in consistent use of extreme vocal registers "filled in with brilliant colors". Another characteristic of Venetian painting is the greater energy and openness of form and expression than is evident in the contemporary Central Italian style³⁵; this is musically present in the driving off-beat rhythmic fragments which are thrown from one choir to another, as well as the dactylic rhythms derived from Humanist poetry and French musical settings. Corresponding to Tintoretto's use of "extraordinarily energetic stereotypes of form and expression"³⁶ is the repetitive yet

still powerful use of pithy rhythmic and melodic motives - whether a stretch of triple time or an extended sequence - which carry the music forward, until a more highlighted effect or gesture is introduced: the highly unorthodox arrival of the slave's liberator, seemingly from above the spectator's head, in The Miracle of the Slave (1548), is the equivalent of such a dramatic gesture as the first entry of the non-continuo instruments in In Ecclesiis. A major local characteristic was, according to Freedberg, "the Venetian interest in setting and effects of space, for the handling of which in Mannerist terms the contemporary art of central Italy provided no good guide"³⁷. The development from before the middle of the 16th century of the Veneto's predilection for cori spezzati, whether because of spatial circumstances of choir-lofts or more sophisticated realisation of Humanist dialogue and ecclesiastical alternatim procedures, is a direct parallel to this awareness of spatial effect, resulting in the vast conceptions of Giovanni Gabrieli's motets for up to 22 voices. The "layering" of material in the detail from Paradise (1588) in the Sala del Gran Consiglio in the Ducal Palace (Plate Ia) and in an earlier representation of the same theme, could well be considered a visual equivalent of the impressive polychoral and concertato idiom crowned, as Christ, the Virgin, the Saints and Cherubs often "crown" the paintings, with high virtuosic instrumental or vocal parts - a less-exalted coro favorito being placed beneath and a coro ripieno supplying the basis of the texture - a system implicit in Venetian compositions and made explicit in pieces in Schutz' collections for large resources, such as the Psalmen Davids. In painting such "layering" had emerged at the end of the 15th century, adopted by the "Classical" Raphael



Plate I(a): Detail from Tintoretto, Paradiso (1588).



Plate I(b): Tintoretto, Paradiso (c. 1579).

(cf. Disputà (c. 1509), and Transfiguration (1517-20))³⁸ and had been taken over by Titian in the celebrated Assumption in which the principle is clearly stated. By contrast, a Mannerist adaptation of the "layering" principle is seen in Hermann Tom Ring's Last Judgement³⁹ which features a spiral conception, characteristic of a preference for obscurity and difficoltà. The Gabrielis' grand polychoral style is complex yet direct and matched only in its manipulation of resources and power of invention by the vast canvases of Tintoretto; both, moreover, shared a common aim in the glorification of the Republic.

The Counter-Reformation's manner of expression of religious subjects in Tintoretto's painting complements that of their musical expression. Freedberg points out that his Venetian art "is as demonstrative as the Roman style is restrictive"⁴⁰. The Venetian musical manner similarly responded to the Counter-Reformation often in ways far more effusive than that prevalent in Rome. The "Counter-Maniera" which complemented the Roman Counter-Reformation was restrictive in its adoption of "a simple, legible art, less artistic than illustrative, and deliberately anti-aesthetic"⁴¹ in its requirement of veiling of the "aggravated nakedness" in Michelangelo's Last Judgement, and the prohibition of extraneous subject matter from Veronese's Feast at the House of Levi. Rich polychoral liturgical settings were common throughout the Republic where Papal will was both covertly and overtly resisted.

The elements of Mannerism, whether present in superficial detail or in the actual dramatic effect, are an intrinsic, if subservient, part of Tintoretto's style. The ornamental woven

braids of hair worn by Susanna (Plate II) have a counterpart in brilliant instrumental passagework, and intertwining, equal-pitched voice parts, which are emancipated in the equal-voiced duets of the early Baroque. The extremes of chiaroscuro and strokes of vivid white of the Finding of the Body of St. Mark (1562) are echoed by the violent register colouring and darting rhythms of Giovanni Gabrieli's late motets. The horizontal serpentinata⁴² positioning of the victim in the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (1564-7)⁴³ is no more effective than Titian's representation of the same theme, but Tintoretto's use of unmerged vivid white to reproduce the steaming flesh transmits the victim's agony in a far more realistic way. Tintoretto, as Giovanni in the later motets, prefers such an intense dramatic approach, to the possibilities offered by "antique themes" which invoke a coolness of approach and a lesser degree of involvement⁴⁴.

Shearman's suggestion of unified structure as a primary Venetian characteristic is evident from its architecture⁴⁵. The Library of S. Marco, begun in 1537, and the Venetian Mint, both to designs by Sansovino, illustrate the Mannerist desire for variety of form - for example, the Library's carved decoration of flowers and fruit - but only in terms of a "dramatic expressive unity"; Shearman contrasts this important feature of organisation with the more typical Mannerist indulgence in variety which "ends by defeating itself"⁴⁶ - a description which is as equally applicable to the highly-coloured madrigals of Wert and emotionally-anarchic compositional style of Gesualdo as it is to the complex designs of Gentili or the dense literary style of Salviati. The principle of unità was of great importance in the architectural



Pl ate II: Detail from Tintoretto, Susanna Bathing.

designs of Palladio, based in the Veneto at Vicenza⁴⁷. The most significant formal element is that of symmetry - where identical "blocks" both enclose and dominate the design (cf. the main frontages of Villa Barbaro near Castelfranco and of the Convent of S. Maria della Carità). This recurrence of enclosing blocks is a significant feature of sacred music towards the end of the 16th and in the early 17th centuries. Wittkower, referring to Palladio's villa designs, postulates a "geometrical keynote" which is "subconsciously rather than consciously perceptible"⁴⁸; similarly, as sacred pieces dispense with polyphonic argument, the periodic restatement of a ritornello "block" acts as an unconscious unifying force. The principles on which Palladio based his designs were far removed from Mannerist influences, yet strongly motivated by Classical Vitruvian architecture. Illustrations of Greek and Roman houses which feature in Book II of his Quattro Libri di Architettura (1570) show him to be a committed Humanist; he was, indeed, one of the founding members in 1556 of the Accademia Olimpica at Vicenza.

iii) Humanism and the promotion of the "intelligible" style

The Humanist values were strongly fostered by 16th century Italian academies, a great number of which sprang up around 1540, with the overriding aim of the promotion of the vernacular tongue⁴⁹. The Accademia Veneta itself survived only a short time, going bankrupt in 1561⁵⁰. The scholarly traditions of Padua were reflected in the foundation of the Accademia degli Infiammati. Significantly, perhaps, for the subsequent musical innovations, the Academy at Florence was relatively free of the pedantry which affected these groups⁵¹. Theories grounded in Medieval attitudes of artificial numerical relations between music and other disciplines were expanded into

Renaissance Neo-Platonism where music becomes "the image of the whole Encyclopaedia". Music had an important function in the long intellectual and moral training required of academy members. This cultivation of cerebral rigour was transmuted in the latter half of the 16th century to a spiritual plane. The asceticism and mission of reform of Carlo Borromeo date, significantly, from 1563, immediately after the founding in 1562 of the Accademia degli Affidati whose members adopted devices reflecting their aspirations: thus L'Intento took as his symbol the seven stars of the Pleiades (representing the four moral and three theological virtues) to signify his heavenly intentions. This academy was "an instrument of Counter-Reformation enthusiasm", and the themes of its debates were taken from the Gospels and the Fathers⁵²; this intensification of the Counter-Reformation spirit was reflected in many later 16th century academies, notably the French Académie du Palais which became a vehicle for Henri III's religious preoccupations, prompted in turn by Borromeo⁵³. Borromeo's connection with French spiritual life reinforces the impression of deep religious commitment tempered by Humanist academic principles. This admixture has a precedent in the character of Jean du Bellay who combined the post of Bishop of Paris from 1532-1557 with the writing of poetry and persuaded Francis I to found the Collège Royal. Likewise, Baif, who is better known for founding the Académie de poésie et de musique, of which the Académie du Palais was an extension, and advocating the application of classical principles to vernacular poetry, had an upbringing deeply influenced by the strong tradition of mysticism at the Abbey of St. Victor which

was in contact with the movement of devotio moderna⁵⁴; in 1562 he was present at the Council of Trent for five months⁵⁵. Baif's psalms of 1569 were intended primarily to stimulate devotion; the strictly measured character of the music aided a devotional mood in listening which in turn brought about moral reform. That the same Humanist musical procedures were employed in the setting of sacred as of secular texts is not remarkable: in the view of the Neo-Platonists, profane and sacred texts were in essence interconnected; in its more general application, profane imagery was absorbed into the fervour of the religious Counter-Reformation⁵⁶, resulting, for example, in an increase of texts in the last decades of the 16th century from the Song of Songs, and in the fashion for the vernacular madrigale spirituale in which the boundaries between sacred and secular were traversed very freely. Profane songs and sacred psalms were both considered "expressions of a divinely-inspired enthusiasm". The psychological effect of sacred music was likewise expressed in secular terms: Coryat writes that the music for the feast of "S. Roch ... did even ravish and stupefie" the listeners of the early 17th century⁵⁷; earlier, the French Neo-Platonist Pontus de Tyard in his dialogue Solitaire second describes the listener to a "gracious measuring of a French ode" as being "ravished, as by a celestial harmony"⁵⁸. The interlocutory format of Tyard's dialogue modelled closely on Plato, is a type widely copied in 16th century Italy, under Neo-platonic influence, and whose inspiration is felt in the dialogue madrigal and coro spezzato idiom.

Andrea Gabrieli belonged to the Venetian Accademia della Fama, and, significantly, contributed to the early output of musical dialogues, and to the musical setting of the Mannerist

literary idiom of pastoral verse, from the content of which much of the subject matter of dramatically-conceived pastorales such as Il Sacrificio d'Abramo (1554) was derived. Andrea's receptiveness to the trend of Humanism is but another example of cultural awareness amongst several composers active in North Italian cities in the middle years of the 16th century:

Willaert's setting of the Virgilian passage 'Dulces exuviae' adheres closely to Humanistic criteria of careful declamation and accentuation, with the inflections of speech mirrored in the Cantus line, and clear overall presentation ensured by nota contra notam procedure of progressions of root-position chords⁵⁹.

Such features are shared by Lutheran music composed for the schoolroom and for school dramatic presentation, firmly rooted in German Humanistic ideals. This practice of four-part syllabic setting of Horatian odes and Virgilian passages directly influenced identical setting of psalms and hymns without necessarily making explicit the Humanist derivation of the musical style (it was not unknown for a musician to adopt a Greek or Roman sobriquet for issuing Humanist odes and revert to its indigenous form when issuing sacred pieces: e.g. *Nepheleta* = *Wolkenstein*)⁶⁰. Willaert, who had received a formal training in Law at the University of Paris, similarly did not advertise his contribution to the composite Psalmi Vesperales of 1550 as being conceived according to "intellectual" precepts⁶¹, even though his familiarity with intellectual procedures is evident not only from the setting of Virgil but from another secular Latin setting of Horace's verse "*Quidnam ebrietas*" composed in Ferrara in which the lower part can be realised correctly only by the application of musica ficta.

Although it is not known at what instigation Willaert's precursors in the field of coro spezzato adopted the style⁶², at least one practitioner moved in an "intellectual" ambiente: Portinaro, a successor of Fra Ruffino at Padua, one of the main centres of early coro spezzato composition, taught at the Accademia degli Elevati and at the Accademia degli Rinascenti, and would have most likely contributed settings of Horatian odes to student dramatic productions⁶³. Ruffo's connection with the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona would likewise have brought him into contact with Humanist ideas. Ruffo was of course one of the two composers approached at the request of Cardinal Borromeo with a view to providing a reformed musical style for the Mass following the strictures of Trent⁶⁴. The essential musical compromise reached by Borromeo and Vitelli between the existing rich polyphonic idiom replete with secular farcing and Moroni's suggested alternative of monophonic music for the Mass, was governed by overriding Humanist principles. Moroni was a dedicated ecclesiastical political careerist with little interest in abstract philosophy and discussion, whereas Vitelli was a "prelate of very considerable erudition"⁶⁵, and his colleague Borromeo was deeply committed to Humanist ways of thinking. Moreover, as Bishop of Modena, Moroni had, from late 1537 to early 1538, actually abolished polyphony in the cathedral and substituted plainsong⁶⁶; that such a situation might be made permanent on a national scale through the lack of a viable alternative was enough to encourage Borromeo especially to find an acceptable musical solution. It is clear from his letters to Nicolo Ormaneto, his representative in Borromeo's Milan diocese, that he was concerned that a good

choral establishment be maintained, at a time when "i buoni Musici della Capella del Duomo" were leaving for better posts⁶⁷.

For the requisite "musica intelligibile" he turned, firstly, through his vicar, to Ruffo:

vorrei facesse istanza co'l Ruffo, che componesse una messa, che forse più chiara che si potesse⁶⁸

with results evident in Ruffo's Mass publication of 1570 - a four-part predominantly isometric style using mostly root-position chords with declamatory uniform syncopation (cf. Gloria of Missa Quarti Toni): the characteristics of the Humanist ode are evident in this approach. Lockwood draws attention to the dedication of this 1570 volume "to the Milanese senator Antonello Arcimboldo ... well known as a Greek and Latin scholar"⁶⁹. Also of interest is the mention in the dedication of "syllabarum numeri" in the cause of intelligibility. The second composer specified to Ormaneto in Borromeo's letters is Vicentino:

se costi in Milano si trovasse don Nicola della musica Cromatica, potreste pregarlo anchor lui che ne componesse una messa.⁷⁰

The radical and chromatically progressive Vicentino may not have seemed a likely contributor of intelligible music for uneducated church congregations (Kaufmann suggests however that Vicentino's chromaticism could have been suitable for sacred works), but Borromeo was aware of Vicentino's attitudes to style in sacred music⁷¹. Lockwood considers that Borromeo "was evidently prepared to expect a serious attempt to write 'intelligible' sacred music from Vicentino". It is natural to suppose that Borromeo knew of examples of Vicentino's style, probably from the theoretical work L'antica musica of 1555,

which "corresponded to stylistic criteria for reformed music"⁷². Of the examples of choral music in L'antica musica the piece which corresponds most closely to the "intelligible" style of Ruffo's 1570 Masses is the Latin ode Musica prisca caput which features, as well as examples of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera in the same short piece, four-part isometric writing in root position harmonies (especially bars 10-14 in Kaufmann's transcription). The four-part motettino, Haec Dies, looks forward even further in style to the jovial triple time refrains with hemiolized cadences of the Venetians although they did not pursue the radical chromaticism with its practical tuning difficulties.

The incorporation of a musical style, demonstrated in the Humanist ode, into the extended musical portions of the Mass was to Borromeo and Vitelli an appropriate solution. The Council had pronounced against lack of intelligibility and a musical remedy was readily available; the attitude of the Humanist cardinals, as testified by the vogue of the madrigale spirituale to which Borromeo subscribed, was that a commonsense, yet still artistic, compromise should prevail. The coro spezzato idiom, again with its commonest employment of four-part choirs with distinctively root position progressions and prevailing isometric writing would seem to be motivated by the musical style of Humanism, and possibly by its dialogue format, just as much as by the liturgical device of antiphonal chanting of the office. The impact of these two relatively new musical styles on the liturgical music in North Italy, and especially in the Venetian Republic itself, was considerable, both in the approachability of the new "simplicity of manner"

and in the opportunities they created for increase of density of texture, rhythmic vitality and inherent rethinking of formal structure.

CHAPTER II

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITURGICAL BACKGROUND

i) The spiritual climate in North Italy

Europe in the late 15th and early 16th centuries was intent on religious regeneration, the outcome of which were the diverging religious movements - the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation¹. The Counter-Reformation was not, however a spontaneous reaction to an earlier Protestant initiative, but a movement which had roots extending into pre-Reformation and late Medieval religious practice and philosophy. These formative influences are many and varied: the Flemish and Dutch devotio moderna based on the philosophy of à Kempis which permeated southern Europe and affected both Reformation and Counter-Reformation; the importance of Spanish religious inspiration and the Jesuit movement, which in turn were influenced by activities in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany²; and the Italian monastic reforms of the 15th century.

The Tridentine Council was dominated by Spanish theologians and Spain had been a strong inspirational force in the thinking of the influential Cardinals Giberti, Carafa and Contarini, as well as of Pope Adrian VI. It was Contarini who facilitated the official recognition of the Jesuit movement which stressed the active, not contemplative, use of the mind, and which in 1540 reflected the modern apostolic spirit of the Catholic church and was appropriate to its needs. The Jesuits practised more frequent communion linked with regular examination of conscience, and meditation on the life and example of Christ and other devotional and biblical themes.

Native Italian oratories and pious associations were strong adjuncts to the religious revival. Such institutions as the Oratory of Divine Love, with its semi-lay, semi-ecclesiastical composition, exemplify the development of what Evennett vividly refers to as the "whole pregnant spiritual climate" in many Italian cities, and especially those of North Italy³.

Whilst the influence of the Roman oratory is perhaps exaggerated, the number and variety of congregations in the North, which had been formed thirty or forty years earlier, was considerable. In Brescia, for example, S. Angela Merici founded the Ursuline order in 1535, and her reputation caused her to be often visited by the exiled Francesco Sforza; a similar female contemplative, Stefana Quinzani, was admired by Isabella Gonzaga. In Brescia, the development of the mystical movement was vigorous, spreading into neighbouring towns. At Salò, the little-known Confraternità della Carità, a splinter-group of the company of Divino Amore, was invigorated by friendship with the first Theatines, especially S. Gaetano Thiene, Carafa, Scotti and Miani⁴; the first contact with the Theatines, which were themselves founded in Rome in 1524 by Cajetan, a native of Vicenza, took place in Verona at the house of Bishop Giammatteo Giberti⁵. I Somaschi were founded at Somasca in North Italy by S. Jerome Emiliani; the Barnabites were founded in Milan in 1530; the Dominicans, led by Fra Battista da Crema, were a strongly spiritual group, with close links with their Spanish counterparts in Castile⁶. In Venice, the Congregazione dei Canonici de S. Giorgio di Alga, which itself had been influenced by devotio moderna writings from the Low Countries, included amongst its members, from 1546 to 1569, Giammateo Asola, whose liturgical music exemplifies, more

than any other composer of the region, the lean, ascetic, yet purposeful and urgent, mood of the Counter-Reformation. In his output, Asola is not merely adhering to the narrow scope of the prohibitive strictures of Trent, but is demonstrating the wider spiritual qualities of the Collegio's traditions and of the age, of disciplined prayer and self-control. The burgeoning of spiritual fervour in North Italy, evident in the creation and spreading of new religious orders and confraternities⁷, inspired many members of confraternities and monastic houses to produce music for liturgical or devotional use, so much so that a large proportion of the repertory of this period was produced by priests or members of religious associations. Settings of the Litany, which became very widespread in the 1580s and 1590s, are direct expressions of the contemporary mood of piety, and were widely used in fraternities and on pilgrimages⁸.

ii) State control of religion in the Venetian Republic

The situation in Venice and its terraferma, especially towards the end of the 16th century, was complicated by its idiosyncratic relationship between lay and religious society⁹. Pius V's desire to achieve uniformity between liturgical texts was not opposed in Venice, even though some traditional ceremonies did persist and the Patriarchine rite survived in the S. Marco basilica; churches had largely adopted the Roman rite in the 15th century after Callixtus III had granted the Patriarch of Venice permission in 1456 to celebrate according to the Roman rite in the patriarchal seat of S. Pietro on the island of Castello; this request for permission to use the Roman rite followed the assumption of the patriarchate by Venice in 1451 from its previous base in Grado¹⁰. The

essentially traditional right of the Venetian state to exercise jurisdiction over its ecclesiastical officials was, however, vigorously defended by Sarpi who supported the political control of the church in the Republic. The patriarchate was chosen from state magistracies, and Venetian patricians were quick to capitalize on the revenue from ecclesiastical posts on the mainland, to such an extent that, with the exceptions of the forceful spiritual bishops Giberti and Ormaneto, in Verona and Padua respectively, almost all the 16th century bishops of the Republic were Venetian nobles¹¹. There were departures from Tridentine discipline in Venetian organisation of its clergy; the development of new seminaries, created by Tridentine reforms, was slow, and many of the old parochial schools remained in existence at the end of the century¹². Whilst the Republic was tolerant of the Orthodox church, for example, it resented hegemony in what it regarded as its own affairs¹³. The Papal interdict of 1606 resulted in the Republic expelling Jesuit priests in support of its policy of state jurisdiction of its lay tribunals over members of the clergy; the rift between Venice and the Pope was so serious that there was a possibility of a complete religious break, encouraged by Sarpi and the English monarch, James I¹⁴.

iii) Minor deviations from the observance of the Roman rite

Venice's liturgical autonomy was confined to the Rito Patriarchino, celebrated at S. Marco until the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1807; the distinctive chant for the Epistle and Gospel employed on major feasts to the present day is still probably a relic of the Aquileian Medieval rite¹⁵. Contarini's request to Callixtus to celebrate in the Roman

rite established a precedent which was followed eventually by all the churches of the Republic¹⁶. A few isolated dioceses still celebrating the rite towards the end of the 16th century voluntarily bowed to the promulgation of the Papal bull Quo primum tempore and eventually adopted the Roman rite: the diocese of Como had kept the Patriarchine rite up to 1598, the diocese of Monza to 1578, the diocese of Trieste to 1586, and the province of Aquileia up to 1596, when the practice was reversed by the Synod of Udine; this was, in effect, inevitable, as the rite at Udine was being continually and increasingly "Romanized" before this date. The archivist of Udine Cathedral, Giuseppe Vale, recovered some chants for the Epistle and Gospel, to be sung on major feasts in the area, from Patriarchine documents¹⁸. The deviations of the Patriarchine rite from the Roman rite were acknowledged, however, to be superficial: a Papal deputation to Aquileia in 1579 on the orders of Gregory XIII established that the practice of the Divine Office, the ferial psalter and the Hours were conducted according to Roman usage, and that the Patriarchine rite corresponded to the Roman missal almost exactly, except for the order of celebration of some Sundays and the feast of the Holy Trinity¹⁹; the traditional celebration of the feast of the Holy Trinity in the Aquileian rite was on the last Sunday after Pentecost, as opposed to the Roman placing on the first Sunday after Pentecost²⁰.

Both the Roman and the Patriarchine rite in fact had the same Gregorian root, and shared the same Lessons, Epistles and Gospels, and virtually identical forms of the Introits, Graduals and Offertories²¹. Such differences as there were did not affect

essentially the method of musical provision for the liturgy: a Sacerdotale of 1537 is a compilation of Patriarchine rites for baptism, anointing of the sick, and burial²²; a Veronese Patriarchine Missal contains a sequence proper to the feast of its patron saint, Zeno; the Patriarchine baptismal ceremony of Traditio symboli was current in North Italy after the Roman rite had established itself; the Venetian form of the Mass for the Blessed Virgin was very similar in its provision of tropes to the Aquileian Hymn of Angels²³. S. Marco itself retained the Aquileian Good Friday form of service, with the exception of the evening Procession, and also the tradition of a sung Marian litany on Saturdays²⁴; the Aquileian ceremonial for the specialized rite of depositio, published at Venice in 1573, specified that the choir sing the psalm Beati immaculati in via interpolated with the versicle 'Ecce lignum crucis' during the Adoration of the Cross, followed by the antiphon Dum fabricator mundi and the hymn Crux fidelis. The Aquileian rite for Holy Thursday specified that 'miserere nobis' should follow the third Agnus Dei instead of 'dona nobis pacem', and that Vespers should be recited after the communio; the ritual for Ash Wednesday in the 1519 Missal specified the chanting of litanies in procession²⁵. By 1589, Aquileian breviaries were in short supply and were not reprinted, being replaced by Roman breviaries. There was no trace of the Medieval rite, even in the Patriarchal church, by 1599²⁶.

Musical provision for the liturgy was affected more substantially in two other areas: the chapel of S. Barbara, Mantua, was granted permission to employ a liturgy independent of the Roman gradual and its plainchant, under Guglielmo Gonzaga,

did not always follow the melodies of the Roman usage²⁷; Milan was the focal point of the Ambrosian liturgy, which had a separate ancestry to the Gregorian²⁸. The Ambrosian rite extended into the diocese of Bergamo which had 29 parishes which followed the practice²⁹. The Sacramentary of Bergamo, of monastic origin, dates from the 10th century; the liturgy is Ambrosian, apart from a Roman Mass for the Fridays of Lent³⁰. The structure of the Ambrosian Mass omitted the *Christe eleison*, placed the threefold phrase, *Kyrie eleison* after the Gloria, replaced the *Kyrie* on Sundays in Lent by a full-scale Litany, replaced the Alleluia on penitential days by the Tract, and excluded the *Agnus Dei* except in Masses for the Dead. Masses were composed on the Ambrosian plan by Gafori, Josquin and Brumel, but later 16th century composers, including Ruffo, adhered to the Roman form of the Ordinary of the Mass, although the 17th century maestro di cappella Pellegrini set music specifically for the Ambrosian rite³¹. Cardinal Borromeo obtained permission from Gregory XIII to enforce the Ambrosian rite in the Milan diocese; the only exception to Ambrosian practice was at Monza, where the clergy were persuaded by Borromeo in 1578 to abandon the Patriarchine liturgy, but, in its place, insisted on adopting the reformed Roman liturgy rather than the Ambrosian rite³².

iv) Musical provision for the Ordinary and Propers of the Mass

Of the various services of the Roman rite, those of Mass and Vespers were the most important. These daily celebrations were sung most normally to plainchant; the provision of measured music was limited to specified feasts, although the requirements varied between dioceses and according to the church'

patron-saint. Banchieri, in L'organo suonarino of 1605, lists the feasts when polyphonic choral music could be expected as: Sundays; feasts of The Lord, of Saints, and of Apostles; feasts of the Virgin; Corpus Christi; Christmas Eve and feasts of Angels; the major feasts and the days comprising their octaves; feasts of Martyrs, Confessors, and Dedication. The organ would have been used on these feasts, with the exception of all but two of the Sundays in Advent and Lent.

The five sung sections of the Ordinary and the five propers constituted the basis of the musical contribution to the Mass. In certain circumstances, the Sanctus and Agnus were abbreviated in musical performance (though said or recited, submissa voce, in full) or omitted completely; at S. Marco, their omission was designed to focus attention on the intervening Elevation³³. The texts and chants of the Proper varied from day to day. The manner of execution of the Ordinary and the Proper or Proper-substitutes varied in relation both to the importance of the feast, and to the resources of the church or religious establishment and the style of the music. Thus, at S. Marco, there were five classes of service, each requiring a separate force of musical performers, which ranged from no musicians, through the requirement of half the body of singers without organ accompaniment to the full choir and full complement of organs and orchestra³⁴. Banchieri provides an example of a mass set in alternatim style, contrasting plainchant and measured sections in the manner of alternatim psalm-settings. The organ had a major role in these alternatim messe di canto fermo which were used in small churches and monasteries; the organist would alternate with the choir in

Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus, and in addition, provide the versetti of the Kyrie, a short fuga in place of the Gradual, music of contrasting moods in place of the Alleluia, Offertory and Communion, and a brief concluding voluntary on full organ³⁵.

The Propers were sung to plainchant, to polyphonic elaborations of the plainchant, or, alternatively, replaced by appropriate motet-settings, or by instrumental pieces. The polyphonic versions of the Propers, especially the Introit, would seem to have originated in the practice of choral improvisation on the plainchant cantus firmus³⁶: Calvisius in his Melopoia of 1592 summarizes the practice of contrappunto alla mente, in which the plainchant melody is sung by the basses and the upper voices supply consonant counterpoint, or, in advanced cases, improvised clausulae or canons. Chamaterò's publication of 1574, Li introiti fondati sopra il canto fermo, exemplifies this procedure and testifies to the enjoyment derived from it by his choristers³⁷. The published collections of polyphonic Propers by Italian composers of this period could thus be regarded as exemplars for the benefit of choirs less skilled in improvisation: such contrappunti osservati, however, give little impression of the effects of novel dissonances and consecutive intervals in the aleatory mente performances³⁸. Several collections of Introits and other Propers appeared in the 1560s³⁹, but there was a gradual decrease in published settings of the Propers; although collections of Introits by Asola appeared in 1583 and 1598, and by Quintiani in 1599, the publication of polyphonic settings ceased after the appearance of Valerio Bona's Introits of 1611⁴⁰. Bonta suggests that this decline was due to the unsuitability of

plainchant for elaborate celebrations and to the impracticality of providing settings of the Propers in new musical styles⁴¹. The common 17th century practice of substituting vocal pieces on non-liturgical or part-liturgical texts for one or more of the Propers was, therefore, gathering momentum in the late 16th century⁴².

The vogue for composite publications in North Italy in the 1590s provided mass-settings together with selections of motets or concerti to contrasting texts: Banchieri's mass of 1599 has accompanying concerti to be performed in place of the five Propers⁴³; Giulio Belli's 1595 collection of masses and motets includes pieces which could take the place of liturgical items ('Libera me, domine' in the Requiem Mass; 'Cibavit nos dominus' at the Communio); Mortaro's nine-voice collection of 1606 similarly includes a motet suitable for the Communio, Ego sum panis vivus; composite publications of 1590 by Asola and Orfeo Vecchi each include motets and a setting of the Mass Ordinary.

Instrumental substitution for the Propers, which is well documented in the 17th century, was current in the previous century, although evidence is more circumstantial⁴⁴. The 16th century organ repertory comprises mainly three types of piece - motet, canzona and ricercar, and it is likely that the Gradual, Offertory and Communion Propers were substituted by one or more of these types. But, as with the polyphonic vocal elaboration of canti fermi, many of the organ interpolations in the Mass would have been improvised, either on the plainchant, or would have been arrangements of secular pieces such as the popular battaglia⁴⁵. The S. Marco basilica, with its two regular

organists, featured the richest variety of organ-music: in the latter half of the 16th century, the Introit and Elevation were substituted by an organ toccata, the Gradual and Communion by an organ canzona, and the Offertory by a ricercare; from about 1590 participation by the resident instrumental ensemble became more frequent, especially in the Gradual, Offertory and Communion⁴⁶. The organ intonazione was an abbreviated toccata, used as a brief prelude to a vocal piece to establish the mode. Andrea Gabrieli's ensemble battaglia, like Padovano's battle piece was probably intended for a non-liturgical service - a wedding (as in the case of Padovano's piece) or a victory celebration; it is conceivable, however, that these pieces were performed at Easter Day May, as was the custom in other churches⁴⁷; if so, they probably would have been heard after the Credo in place of the Offertory, owing to their length.

(v) Musical provision for the Office of Vespers

The Office of Vespers was celebrated often more solemnly than the Mass: Coryat notes that the service he visited lasted three hours. Considerable discretion was exercised as to the proportion of measured music used at Vespers celebrations at which choir and/or instruments were present; hymn-settings in Vespers publications are rare, and in some churches it was the custom to sing only the first psalm Dixit Dominus and the Magnificat in polyphony⁴⁸. There are several publications in this period of Magnificats without psalms (e.g. Chamaterò, 1575; Ruffo, 1578; Isnardi, 1582; Pontio, 1584), but the majority of Vespers' publications included a selection of psalms and one or two (and, sometimes, three or four) Magnificat settings⁴⁹. From 1566, psalm and Magnificat collections appeared containing both measured settings and falsibordoni, most often in all

eight tones⁵⁰. The alternative offered by falsobordone's simple four- or five-voice harmonization of the psalm or Magnificat tone was popular in North Italy, and especially so in, and around, Milan⁵¹; this technique, like the majority of polyphonic psalm-settings for single choir, alternated composed verses with plainchant. The advantage of falsobordone settings was the relative ease of learning and of performance, enabling both religious institutions with undeveloped choral resources to explore beyond the unison plainsong recitation of the office, and churches with proficient choirs to concentrate on one or two large-scale settings for a particular celebration without having to resort to plainchant for the remaining psalms or Magnificat. It is significant in this respect that falsibordoni were published as self-contained volumes (e.g. Isnardi, 1585) or as addenda to magnificent polychoral collections (e.g. Mortaro's 12-voice falsibordoni of 1599).

The majority of Vespers publications provided psalms suitable for a number of feasts, as well as the five psalms - Dixit Dominus (109), Confitebor tibi (110), Beatus vir (111), Laudate pueri (112), In exitu (113) - which made up Sunday Vespers. Thus, Pasquali's five-voice psalms of 1576 include six psalms for Sunday and Saints' Day Vespers (the additional psalm is Laudate dominum), the five psalms for Marian Vespers (including a separately-composed Dixit Dominus), and six psalms for feasts throughout the year, including De profundis (for Vespers at the Officium Defunctorum), Memento Domine (for feasts of Confessors), Credidi (for the feasts of All Saints, and of Martyrs) and Beati omnes (for Corpus Christi). The provision of

two Magnificat settings of contrasting scope was often made, either, so that the Vespers celebration on the eve of the feast could be differentiated from its celebration on the following day, or, that one could be reserved for solemn, and the other for simple, use. In Pasquali's publication the more elaborate second Magnificat is thus for eight voices, and the first, by Rinaldi, for five voices; Asola's 1574 Vespers psalms for eight voices includes two Magnificats, the second of which alternates measured verses with plainsong, as opposed to the fully-composed first setting. In the last years of the century the number of psalm-settings provided in composite publications was reduced to those suitable for a large number of feasts: the eight psalms in Mortaro's 12-voice publication of 1599 comprise five for Marian feasts and three for feasts from the Common⁵². The gradual and general increase in the attention paid to composition of individual elaborate psalm-settings focussed attention on this element of the psalm-antiphon pairing, at the expense of the latter; the traditional tonal relation of psalm and antiphon and the diversity of Propers for the various feasts and liturgical occasions were obstacles to the performance of large-scale psalm-settings in particular modes. The three consequences were: to provide falsibordoni in all eight tones and in the tono mixto, to substitute motets or instrumental pieces for the antiphons while the priest recited the Proper submissa voce, and to leave the mode of the psalm unspecified. The last expedient occurred regularly only after 1610; the second was practised in the late 16th century, accepted by the Caeremoniale Episcoporum of 1600 as a fait accompli, codified by Banchieri in L'Organo Suonarino, where instructions are given for 'free' pieces to

be supplied at the opening and close of the Office, and for the provision of antiphons to follow the psalms and the Magnificat, and exemplified in his composite collection of mass and concerti of 1599 and in Viadana's Cento Concerti of 1602⁵³. At S. Marco, the instrumental ensemble was used at Vespers in place of the antiphons, and pieces composed for this purpose often referred to the incipit frequently encountered in the plainchant of the psalms and the Lucis creator hymn⁵⁴.

A setting of the opening response Domine ad adiuvandum was not normally supplied in the 1570s, 1580s and early 1590s, except in collections in which the music was particularly grandiose or compiled for a particular feast or purpose. This the 1592 Vespers collection compiled by Asola, and dedicated to Palestrina, commences with the response. The response is set in Asola's ambitious eight-voice collection of 1574, but not in Pasquali's five-voice psalms of 1576. It appears in Antegnati's eight-voice psalms of 1592, but also in Viadana's smaller-scale five-voice psalms of 1597.

(vi) Musical provision for Compline and Matins

Musical settings of the liturgy of remaining Offices are far fewer as their celebration was largely restricted to non-laymen; the Office which generated the most settings was Compline; here the admixture of liturgical contents - fixed psalms⁵⁵, hymn, responsories, Canticle, and Marian antiphons - provided the genuinely spiritual and liturgically-conscious composer with an ideal brief. Asola, significantly, made several settings, for varied vocal dispositions, from the three-voice 1598 publication to the eight-voice collection of 1585; his four-voice collections of 1583 and 1587 each contain

two settings, one for communibus vocibus and one for paribus vocibus. In Asola's settings of Compline antiphons, the cantus firmus is prominent in Tenor or Bassus; in the 1576 publication for six voices, falsibordoni are provided for only the eight tones, as the peregrinus tone is reserved for Vespers, with strophic hymn settings in four modes. Viadana's 1606 Compline setting however, is far from intimate with dramatic contrast of solo voice and eight-part chorus in the Responsorium In manus tuas, and organ interludes between first and second psalms and between verses 11 and 12 of the relatively long third psalm. Although some sources suggest that the psalms were later infrequently sung to polyphony⁵⁶, the rich settings of Asola, Gratiani (1601), Croce (1591), and Viadana point to a strong tradition of musical provision at Compline in the late 16th century. The initial versus Iube domine is often set polyphonically.

Compline during the season of Lent (known as Quadragesima, or by its popular abbreviation, Quaresima), was often the occasion for the staging of weekly concerti. The Oblighi delli cantori of 9th January 1565 at S. Antonio, Padua, specify that the singers should attend Compline on every Friday in that season⁵⁷. The more explicit Capitoli per li Cantori of 1585 at S. Antonio specify that the singers attend Compline on Fridays and Sundays in Quadragesima and indicate that "concerti di Tromboni, & altri instrumenti" were expected on these days; Compline during the 15 days from Passion Sunday to Easter was, however, sung to falsobordone. A portable organ was hired for Quadragesima of that year, and also for Lent of the following year, as well as the services of an excellent violinist. In 1589 extra payments were made to the musicians for Compline

on four Saturdays in Lent, when two organists were used. The concerti in Lent and for the feasts of Easter and its octave were certainly customary by 1595. Examples of the music for these large-scale weekly Compline celebrations at S. Antonio can most probably be found in the large-scale Compline settings of 1593 for eight and nine voices, with the antiphons appropriate for a Marian feast, which were dedicated to the Presidenza of the basilica by the maestro, Colombano. Choral music at Compline in Lent was expected by the cathedral authorities at Sacile⁵⁸.

The Caeremoniale episcoporum which authorized alternatim performance with the organ of the Mass, and at Vespers, similarly made provision for alternatim performance of hymns and canticles for Matins; the Te Deum was commonly performed in this way, although certain verses had to be sung rather than played: those sung kneeling ('Te ergo quaesumus') and those preceded by a verse sung in polyphony, as well as the first and last verses (or, alternatively, in canticles, the doxology)⁵⁹. The Te Deum was not sung during Lent; the Responsories and Lamentations were sung as part of the liturgy of Matins on the last three days of Holy Week⁶⁰. Settings by Asola (1586) and Croce (1596) are rare examples of the three sections of the proper psalm for Terce (118, parts 3-5); Asola also sets the opening hymn Nunc Sancte nobis and the Te Deum; Croce provides doxologies, each commencing in triple time, to the three sections of the psalm and sets the Te Deum, Benedictus and Miserere mei.

(vii) Processions

Processions were an important activity in many North Italian cathedrals and basilicas. The processions in Venice itself epitomised the characteristic fusion of civil authority with religious justification, with the Doge assuming the dual role of head of state and semi-cleric⁶¹; they were concomitant to the ceremonial for entertaining foreign dignitaries, and to the celebration of both major church festivals and feasts of lesser saints which coincided with the anniversaries of important events in the calendar of Venetian political or military achievement⁶².

The most widely-recognised processional occasion was on the feast of Corpus Domini. Players of varied instruments were hired for the occasion: Padua Cathedral in 1547 employed "sonatori de lironi, violle, violette et violini" to take part in the procession⁶³; in 1576 outside singers were employed in solemn processions for Corpus Christi and for Jubilens⁶⁴. For the Corpus Domini procession in 1562 the Cathedral Chapter at Brescia recorded that priests were to chant litanies, and altars were to be erected in the streets where prayers were sung with responses from the choir⁶⁵. At S. Antonio, Padua, the 1585 itemization of duties for the singers and maestro states that the feast of S. Marco required their presence at Mass, unless a procession was held instead; the dress for all processions for all singers - lay, priests and monks alike - was the same as in a church service: surplice and cruciform hat; processions could be of either a public or private nature. Six members of the cappella went on strike in 1589 at the Chapter's unofficial increase in the number of processions over

those stipulated in the Capitoli presumably of 1585, asking for exemption from all except those of Corpus Domini and the patron saint; a newly-introduced procession for the feast of the Sacro Cingolo di S. Francesco was the stimulus for the singers' action. The procession for the feast of S. Antonio of 1591 was attended by members of the cappella; the singers imported for the services of the feast, however, would appear not to have attended the procession: the priest from the church of S. Maria in Vanzo, who had come to sing bass at Vespers, was not present at the procession⁶⁶.

Whereas few details of music performed at processions in North Italy survive, the procedure for that of Corpus Christi, 1583, at the Jesuit College is documented: the three choirs of the Seminary, each of a differing standard, sang, respectively, Gregorian chant, including Pange lingua; three-part falso-bordone; and polyphony⁶⁷.

As processions staged by cathedrals were, by their nature, part of the ceremony of the city itself, wind-players employed by the city authorities were expected to partake. In Udine, the participation of fistulatori in processions for the feasts of Corpus Christi, John the Baptist, Beato Beltrando, and others, is recorded in 1433 and 1493: their function as an act of praise to the duality of God and the Venetian doge typifies the attitude in the Republic itself⁶⁸.

At Urbino, trombetti were a regular feature of processions for the feasts of Corpus Domini, the Assumption of the Virgin, S. Crescentino, and S. Francesco⁶⁹. In 1585 the spectacle at the feasts of the Annunciation and of S. Crescentino was augmented by luminaria (subsidized, like the trombetti, by

the cathedral)⁷⁰. Processions were not necessarily held in the open air: the terms of employment for the maestro at Urbino for 1588 state that those held on the first Sunday in the month took place in the cathedral⁷¹; such regular monthly processions were also part of Ruffo's contract in 1580 at Sacile⁷².

The comprehensive list of processions itemized by the disgruntled violinists in the employment of the Scuola Grande in S. Rocco similarly includes a procession on the first Sunday of each month, as well as around 50 others for particular occasions⁷³. This schedule was remarkable even compared to other confraternities; most cathedrals must have been far more selective in their choice of feasts to be celebrated in such a manner.

(viii) The organization of the cappella

(a) The duties of the maestro di cappella

The most important member of the musical establishment of any church, cathedral or basilica was the maestro di cappella. His contractual responsibilities varied in detail from one city or area to another, but always included organizing the singers to perform on Sundays, movable feasts and fixed feasts, during Lent and Holy Week and teaching singing and musical theory to the boys or novices intended as singers in the institution. The authorities at S. Antonio, Padua, specified that the maestro should not sing outside the basilica without permission, should be eligible for pecuniary fines for deviation from his obligations, and should receive, with the singers, half the alms contributed when votive masses were celebrated with music. The maestro at Imola was obliged to provide a substitute if

incapacitated⁷⁴. The maintenance of two boy sopranos was part of the duties of the maestro Gabrieli Fattorini at Faenza in 1604⁷⁵. At Urbino, Colombano, as a priest, had to say mass in alternate weeks⁷⁶. At Udine in 1567, Chamaterò had to be in attendance only on feast-days, and at all events on those feasts which were celebrated with "musici concentus in choro", and had to give the chierici daily instruction in both canto fermo and figurato⁷⁷.

As well as these stipulated duties, the maestro was expected to carry out numerous other miscellaneous duties for which he often received extra payment and recognition. An important task was the recruiting of adult singers for full-time employment in the cappella, auditioning, and the hiring of singers and instrumentalists for special events or important feasts. Balbi, as maestro at S. Antonio in 1585, mentions his role as recruiter in a letter to the Presidenza⁷⁸. The maestro of Padua cathedral was present at the audition of two applicants for singing posts in June 1593 and made appropriate recommendations for their acceptance to the Chapter: one of the singers needed to wear glasses to sing because of short-sightedness; the second, whose voice was settling down after breaking, the maestro reports as being an accurate and pleasing singer⁷⁹. Zarlino, as maestro of S. Marco, was invited to be present at the election of a new organist in Padua cathedral, to be held on the eve of the feast of S. Lorenzo of 1567⁸⁰. The feast for which the church authorities expected the maestro to bring in extra singers and musicians was that of the patron saint: at S. Antonio the maestro in 1587 was given a sum in advance to distribute amongst the musicians imported for the

feast of June 13th and the following Sunday; for the same feasts in 1590 and 1591 greater expense was incurred, and maestro Balbi had to submit a claim by letter for the expenses⁸¹. By 1595 the expense involved in the hiring of musicians for the feast of S. Antonio had risen dramatically, to 45 ducati, and the wording of the official deliberation implies that the keeping of faith with the maestro is rather grudging; by 1597 the authorities stipulated that the maestro should obtain their approval before asking outside musicians to participate in services. By 1598 the authorities halted the hiring of outside singers and musicians, to take effect from after the celebrations for the feast of S. Antonio that year⁸². Extra duties in Lent were recognized by special payments⁸³.

The maestro was responsible for the provision of choir-music. This could be bought direct from a bookseller in the city itself or in the nearest large centre, sent for, copied onto specially-purchased lined paper, or specially composed. Giulio Belli, maestro at S. Antonio in 1606 was reimbursed 129 lire for expenses for printed music bought from a bookseller in Padua; his purchases comprised six sets of masses, eight sets of Vespers psalms, two sets of Magnificats, three sets of hymns, six sets of motets, a set of music for Compline, two sets of introits and a complete set of contrapuntal settings of antiphons for the church's year. The choice of music purchased by Belli on this occasion is relatively conservative, with the inclusion of several publications dating from the 1560s and 1570s, and shows a desire to represent the majority of genres of liturgical choral music. At the cathedral in 1570, the maestro di cappella was paid for making 13 books of psalms

notated in falsobordone⁸⁴; the maestro di canto was paid a similar amount in 1572 for copying two books of psalms by Pasetto, which operation would seem to have taken over two years⁸⁵; lined paper was obtained from Venice for copying masses sent from Rome and a "libro da sonar"⁸⁶. In August 1577 the maestro di cappella was reimbursed for having brought back from Venice 6 module of psalms and masses; the maestro was put in charge of a new book of six masses which was sent from Rome⁸⁷; the maestro in 1599 was paid for expenses for music books ordered from a Venetian bookseller⁸⁸. Mainerio, as maestro of the Metropolitan church at Aquileia, was given leave to bring back music from Venice⁸⁹. Music for the cathedral at Imola was purchased from Bologna and from Venice⁹⁰.

(b) Dedications to the ecclesiastical authorities

The practice of maestri dedicating a newly-composed collection of liturgical settings to their ecclesiastical employers was common. At S. Antonio, Pasquali was paid 30 scudi for the dedication of his five-voice Vespers psalms of 1576 to the Presidenti of the basilica. Balbi dedicated his 1580 masses to the Presidenti, and, in 1588, was paid 36 scudi for the dedication of a manuscript set of 32 motets⁹¹. The manuscript of Balbi's mass for seven voices was dedicated to the Presidenti in 1589 and the maestro received a small payment⁹². It is not entirely clear who was responsible for submitting such manuscripts to the printer: from an entry relating to the dedication of compositions by a young fratino at S. Antonio, it would seem that the church authorities could arrange for printing⁹³; a letter from Balbi to the Presidenti, however, indicates that the composer was expected to finance the printing of his own works, even if this necessitated an official advance of salary⁹⁴.

The custom of financial recognition of a dedication to the Presidenti at S. Antonio continued to the end of December, 1595, when the cappella was itself dissolved. Ratti was paid 20 scudi for the dedication of a set of printed music, and Colombano 25 scudi for his large-scale settings of the Compline psalms and Marian antiphons; it was made clear that the donation to Colombano was to be the last of its kind⁹⁵. A further, more strongly-worded deliberation was made at the beginning of 1596, however: the practice of dedication to obtain payment from church funds is referred to as depraved and unscrupulous⁹⁶. Capilupi, at Modena, did not receive a proposed bonus of 20 ducatoni for the dedication to the Chapter of the 1603 motets; the reason for this was not one of finance, but personal dislike of him by the majority of the canons⁹⁷.

(c) Procedures for appointing maestri

The church authorities were naturally anxious to appoint maestri with high musical reputations; the anxiety of the Chapter at Modena was such that, despite his wilful temperament, Vecchi was allowed to resume the post of maestro which he had abandoned for supposedly greater financial rewards at nearby Reggio, and the current maestro, Richetti, summarily paid off⁹⁸. Vecchi had previously been appointed as maestro at Salò in 1581 on the strength of the success of a public "concentum musicae" in Holy Week, and his contract extended as a result of the prestige brought to the Consiglio del Commune by his musical activities; he resigned before his new contract had expired, however, because of the bitter jealousy of the former maestro, Bertolotti, who had been demoted to the role

of singer⁹⁹. The opportunist Massaino later offered his services as maestro at Salò; on his temporary departure after only 25 months of service, he recommended a substitute, Teodoro da Lucca. At Padua Cathedral, Balbi was recommended by letter for the post of maestro by Porta¹⁰⁰. On the departure of Balbi from the post of maestro at S. Antonio, Colombano applied by letter from Urbino, and was subsequently appointed. Balbi had been released with effect from the end of December, 1591; a substitute was elected, (to function from the beginning of January 1592), from three members of the cappella, with an augmentation of salary of three ducati a month¹⁰¹, each candidate had to be recommended by a dignitary of the Arca. From the tone and content of Colombano's letter of acceptance, it can be deduced that he was not present at the election of the maestro, which was made by a majority verdict of the Presidenti on grounds of good conduct and character¹⁰².

The method of voting varied from one church to another: at Modena, small white balls were deposited to signify a vote in favour of a candidate or a resolution; at S. Antonio, a pebble was placed in one of two pyxes, red or green, to signify respectively a favourable or contrary vote¹⁰³; at Faenza the voting was conducted with white and black beans¹⁰⁴; at Brescia secret voting was the custom¹⁰⁵. The voting procedure for the maestro was practised regularly at Brescia between December 1598 and January 1602, when four maestri or substitutes were elected on separate occasions¹⁰⁶.

Although both Giovanni Gabrieli and Croce combined their salaried posts at S. Marco with permanent posts at other

institutions, as organist to the Scuola Grande di S. Rocco and maestro at S. Maria Formosa respectively¹⁰⁷, the practice was discouraged at churches on the mainland. Vecchi was much in demand at the Court in Modena to officiate at events and feasts, and was, moreover, official music tutor to the Court princes and princesses¹⁰⁸.

(d) The duties of the cappellano and canonico cantore

Many cathedrals had specially-designated cappellani to provide choral rendition of daily Offices, most probably in plainchant. Thus, at Fermo, a chapter resolution in May, 1568, institutes that cappellani and two chierici are to sing Vespers and Compline daily, and to say Matins after Compline¹⁰⁹. At Urbino 27 cappellani were obliged to say Mass, either every day, every three days, or every four or five days of the week¹¹⁰. At Faenza two prefects of the choir were required to be present at ferial celebrations of the Office to alternate in the direction of plainchant; the presence of the maestro was only required at solemn celebration of the Office¹¹¹. Two willing priest-singers were paid by the Mensa comune at Brescia Cathedral to celebrate other daily canonical offices and a daily mass in the cathedral¹¹². At Brescia, canons were in charge of the grammatical and musical education at the school¹¹³; a separate post of canonico cantore created in 1280, and which, after the end of the 16th century became honorary, involved the direction of the schola cantorum, the authority to arrange annual rites and ceremonies, the compilation of the Ordo divini officii recitandi and perhaps also the teaching of the chant and liturgical ceremonies to the canons, chaplains and chierici¹¹⁴. At Padua Cathedral in May 1597,

two canons were directed to take over the business of organizing and running the cappella itself because of its disorder¹¹⁵. The equivalent of Brescia's canonico cantore at S. Marco was the maestro di coro, who had responsibility for the ceremonial¹¹⁶.

(e) The composition of the cappella

The cappella itself usually consisted of singers who were either priests or laymen. In the 1560s, as a result of Trent, there had been moves to enforce the regulations which discriminated against monks as members of the cappella at Padua Cathedral: in 1563 the cappella of ten singers had included four monks, but in 1565 a monk deliberately left his order, and took the name of D. Girolamo, in anticipation of the official stipulation in 1571, which took the form of a deposition by the Bishop, to exclude monks from the cappella¹¹⁷; the cappella was reformed in 1575, excluding friars and former friars; permission to appoint Porta, a friar, as maestro at the cathedral, though eventually granted, was the result of much pleading by the Chapter for an exception to the Cardinal's observation that the mixing of monks and priests was undesirable¹¹⁸. For their part the authorities at S. Antonio were advised in the strongest terms by the Generale of the order not to appoint a layman as organist in succession to Ippolito da Piacenza in November 1579¹¹⁹; it was similarly as a result of the new Tridentine discipline that special permission was sought by the Presidenti for Balbi to hold simultaneously the posts of Custode at Venice and maestro at S. Antonio¹²⁰.

The size and composition of the cappella varied from one church to another, and from year to year; factors such as official ecclesiastical policy, availability of funding,

the behaviour of members of the cappella, and extended periods of absence, influenced the number of salaried singers and instrumentalists. The salaried cappella listed at S. Antonio in April 1574 comprised two contralti, two tenors, one bass and a trombone-player; in March 1577, the forces were the same¹²¹. At the time of the threatened disbanding of the cappella in August 1586, in order to avoid scandal, the forces consisted of three tenors, five contralti, two basses and six instrumentalists¹²². The S. Antonio cappella was in fact suspended for several weeks from 1st January 1595, and its reformation was conditional on the members accepting lower salaries and the number of voices on each of the lowest three parts being limited to three; as a result, two of the tenors had to be sacked, and the stipend of the maestro reduced by a fifth, with similar reductions for the remainder of the cappella¹²³. A long-serving tenor, Felice Spinelli, seemingly in retirement, was retained owing to his service and his unofficial (and rather enigmatic) title of "padre di concerto". In addition two trombone-players were permitted: the cappella list includes one such, with the addition of one trombone-player/tenor-singer. Instead of the stipulated single cornetto and violin, two violinists were employed; the composer Ratti, who sang tenor, was expected to play the organ extensively in concerti.

In addition to the salaried cappella, extra musicians were employed on a casual basis: two trombonists were paid for their services during the last three months of 1593; the number of trombones would have thus been restored, even though temporarily, to the level of 1586, when four trombonists are

listed. Major feasts, as well as important processions, customarily involved the augmentation of the numbers of the resident cappella by singers and instrumentalists from the locality or from Venice itself. The participation of a quartet of trombones seems to have been customary, at least at Christmas, from the early 1570s: although the cappella included Sorte as a trombonist, three extra trombones were hired for the Christmas feasts of 1571, as well as a cornetto.

At Padua Cathedral the cappella in 1563-4 comprised ten singers; several extra singers from Venice were called in to help in the celebrations for the King of France's visit to the city in July 1574¹²⁴. The cappella was reformed in May 1575 following the stipulations in the Papal Bull of 7th March 1575: nine singers - three on each of the lower three parts - were to be employed, resulting in the dismissal of four superfluous singers; for the important local feast of S. Antonio and the subsequent Sunday, in the next year, however, extra singers were brought in¹²⁵. In 1585 and 1588 the cappella consisted of seven soprani and three adult singers; in 1588 four new singers and a trombonist were appointed. In 1596, four adult singers and a trombonist are listed, in 1598, seven adult singers and trombone, and in 1600, four adults. The reduced forces were the subject of repeated complaints by the Chapter about the prevalence of extended illness, used by singers as a false pretext for being unable to sing, and the abuse of the periods of short leave granted by the Chapter; its solution (if terms so generous can be so called) was to suspend singers who had been absent without leave for more than two months continuously¹²⁶. The well-being of the cathedral

cappella in the last years of the 16th century was disrupted also by the absence of the new maestro Mosto, given three months leave to fetch his family from Transilvania, internal squabbles which resulted in heavy fines on two singers for swearing, and on the senior singer for offending the maestro, and the personal dissatisfaction of Renaldi, a singer brought from S. Marco, with his salary¹²⁷. To save face, the Chapter had to hire ten singers for the Quarantore of 17th and 26th February 1600.

The cappella at Modena under Vecchi in 1599 numbered twelve adult singers, several boy sopranos and two trombonists¹²⁸. The cappella at S. Marco in 1590 included eleven adult singers of varying quality and accomplishments and two soprani; it was built up later by Donato.¹²⁹

(f) The singers and their duties

The four vocal designations - Soprano, Contralto, Tenore and Basso - were usual in the North Italian cappelle. The contralti were often young men whose voices had recently broken; a bass was often referred to as a contrabasso, when the singer probably possessed a good low register, useful before doubling or substitution of the part by a trombone became usual¹³⁰. References to quality of singing are limited to the tenor and bass voices: at S. Antonio, an appointment of 2nd October 1594 is qualified by reference to both vocal and instrumental excellence¹³¹; a Servite friar was appointed more for vocal quality than accurate singing¹³²; by contrast the bass, friar Vespasiano, possessed both vocal skill and quality¹³³; the vocal accomplishments of friar Alfonso fitted him for the part of basso solo. The soprano part was sung either

by a castrato, or boys, a combination of both, or replaced by an instrument¹³⁴. Castrati are usually given a title of respect in archival records, thus distinguishing them from the fanciulli or putti. Castrati were infrequently local products: the soprano sacked at S. Antonio in February 1579, having been appointed only the previous June, probably came from Sicily¹³⁵. Castrati were common at least up to the end of the 16th century: Freddi, who had already spent many years in the S. Antonio cappella was given a new contract in 1595. References to vocal expertise of castrati are rare.

The practice of using boys' voices extensively and regularly would seem to have become common only in the last third of the century, with the formalization of ecclesiastical arrangements for their education. A school for boys was in existence at Novara in May 1581; in the same year it is recorded that boys went to sing in the basilica of S. Gaudenzio on festal occasions¹³⁶. A decision to employ six boy-singers was taken at Padua Cathedral in December 1576; the generous salary was paid directly to the parents¹³⁷. At S. Antonio boys were employed on a three-year contract which terminated when their voice broke¹³⁸; a natural progression from boy-soprano was to be employed as a contralto¹³⁹; in some cases the boys sang unpaid for a probationary period before being given a full contract as soprani¹⁴⁰. Boy-singers were used elsewhere: at Brescia, a putto cantore is recorded in 1568¹⁴¹; at Faenza in 1546, Paulo Aretino as maestro was instructed to bring his nephew Angelo to sing as "primo soprano de la capella" every Sunday and feast-day¹⁴²; the boys often were sons of members of the cappella, as in the case of the two sons of the organist

at Faenza, Brunetti¹⁴³; some boys were lodged with the maestro¹⁴⁴.

Adult singers could be appointed on the strength of a probationary period in the cappella, by formal audition or by a direct request to or from the church authority. At Padua Cathedral in 1577 a prospective singer had joined the cappella on the feast of S. Marco and at Mass on 5th May, and had been tested singing in vocal trios and quartets as well as with the full choir; a Flemish singer who underwent a similar probation in October of the same year was rejected. At S. Antonio similarly, casual service at feasts could lead to permanent employment¹⁴⁵. In 1571 the authorities at S. Antonio wrote to the Generale to ask permission to appoint a tenor recently dismissed from the cathedral; in 1578 the Presidenti wrote direct to the Bishop of Padua to transfer the services of friar Gratiano to their cappella¹⁴⁶.

The practices of singer-substitution and combination of vocal and instrumental duties were not uncommon. At Brescia, a corista who commenced duties on 23rd May 1580 was obliged specifically to maintain, from his salary, a singer to take his place in the cappella¹⁴⁷. At S. Antonio the dual role of some members of the cappella is well-documented: friar Saronò was employed in 1557 as a bass-singer and trombonist¹⁴⁸; a singer appointed in March 1568 for six months was expected to sing both as an alto and tenor¹⁴⁹; a lay-singer was appointed from 1st September 1571 as contralto and player of the old organ¹⁵⁰; Sorte was paid 36 ducatti as a trombonist, and as a singer in Holy Week and an extra 4 ducatti for directing the singers¹⁵¹; in April 1588, Boni requested an increase of

salary on the grounds that he was continually carrying out the duties of two people, as singer and trombonist¹⁵²; the tenor Simon Calcanéo was employed to play the smaller organ in concerti¹⁵³; the tenor friar Placido stood in for the maestro when the latter was unavailable¹⁵⁴; friar Paulo is listed as both an excellent tenor and trombonist¹⁵⁵. At Parma, Cristoforo Platino is listed in 1576 as a singer and instrumentalist. At the monastery church in Gradaro, Carlo Mambrini is recorded in November 1594 as a singer, and as playing the trombone when useful or convenient, and when requested by the Abbot or Superior¹⁵⁶. At Padua Cathedral it was customary for the senior singer of the cappella to beat time¹⁵⁷.

The contractual obligations of the singers were very similar to those of the maestro. At Padua Cathedral new regulations were issued on 14th April 1565 which required the singers to remain until the end of the Offices, to wear their cotta during service, to attend full rehearsals of the music on at least two days a week to be decided by the maestro, and not to sing outside the cathedral when needed at a cathedral service¹⁵⁸. At S. Antonio in 1585 the singers were required to sing on: all Sundays and at the feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, the Circumsion, Epiphany, the Purification, Easter and Pentecost, Invention of the Cross, S. Bernardino, S. Antonio, St. John Baptist, S. Felice, S. Bonaventura, S. Lorenzo, the Assumption of the Virgin, the Birth of the Virgin, S. Francesco, All Saints, All Souls, S. Catarina, the Conception of the Virgin, Christmas; at Compline on Fridays and Sundays in Lent; on Sundays in Advent; all Saturdays in the year except those in Lent; and at Compline

for the 15 days from Passion Sunday to Easter, when falsobordone settings were sung. The friar-singers had to teach the zaghetti (young altar-boys), and to coach the young boy-singers to the stage where they could join in the cappella itself, subject to the decision of the maestro. Lay-singers had to make themselves available for rehearsals. Both friar- and lay-singers were not allowed to sing elsewhere without prior permission both from the Presidenti and from the maestro. Each singer was liable to be fined for contravening any of the regulations: contravention on the major feasts, those of the Virgin, and those of S. Antonio, S. Francesco, and All Saints, was subject to a doubled fine. Only legitimate illness was to be excused. Singers were to attend all required processions, to wear surplice and cap to all services and processions, and to remain until the conclusion of each service or procession¹⁵⁹. The singers at S. Antonio were allowed a holiday from after the celebration of the Nativity of the Virgin on 8th September until the celebration of the feast of S. Francesco on 5th October, and then again until the feast of All Saints on 1st November¹⁶⁰; in February 1594 the holiday period was altered to exclude the month of October, and to allow instead the singers leave for the period of Septuagesima excepting the feast of the Purification, for which they were required at both Vespers and Mass. A stipulation was made at the same time that the singers, for greater dignity and decorum, should wear a long cassock or gown beneath their surplice¹⁶¹. A weekly practice of music was customary at S. Antonio¹⁶².

(g) The duties of the organist

The post of organist was the least dispensable in the cappella: when the cappella of S. Antonio was threatened with disbandment for three years from the beginning of January 1594, the two organists were excluded from the suspension¹⁶³. S. Antonio had had two organists from at least 1548¹⁶⁴; there were two organs, one with a full complement of pipe-ranks and one with a single rank, from at least 1517¹⁶⁵. The duties in 1576 of the player of the S. Antonio "new organ" required him on all Sundays, feasts and vigils, and to play for the antiphons of Vespers¹⁶⁶. The player of the "old organ" did not have the same detailed responsibilities, but had to teach the young friars to play the instrument¹⁶⁷. Morsolino's duties at Cremona on his appointment in July 1591 were similarly to play on Sundays, feast-days, at Mass, Vespers, on days when processions and litanies took place, for the Entry of important ecclesiastical or state personages, and for any other occasions when the organ was customarily used in the cathedral; to supervise the quality and state of the instrument itself, and to avoid disputes by respecting the decisions of the maestro¹⁶⁸. This final caution indicates that disagreements were not unknown between holders of the quite separate posts of maestro and organist, each of which had different priorities and statutes. At Modena in April 1596 the smouldering enmity between Vecchi and the ousted maestro Richetti flared into an open confrontation centred on the right of the organist, Richetti, to play organ music at the Offertory, opposed to Vecchi's wish to have recently-composed motets sung instead¹⁶⁹. The statutes

at S. Marco in 1564 required one or both organists to play at Mass and Vespers on feasts and their vigils¹⁷⁰; the presence of at least one of the two organists was also required at services with ensemble music, at the Blessing of the Water at Epiphany and at Matins on the feast of Corpus Domini¹⁷¹. The two organists usually alternated week by week and both were present together only at special feasts. As at S. Antonio there was a considerable difference between the two main organs in size and power: the specification of the larger had changed little by 1739 when Mattheson described its specification of nine separate ranks; the smaller organ was rebuilt in 1595 to Gabrieli's instructions with four ranks¹⁷². From 1588 a chamber organ was brought in from the Seminario Gregoriano on major feasts to bring the number to three. S. Antonio had three organs in 1598 for use in concerti¹⁷³; in 1591 it is recorded that the portable organ in the basilica had been ruined by indiscriminate loaning to other institutions¹⁷⁴. In former years the basilica had itself borrowed a portable organ for concerti - in 1585 during Quadragesima and in 1586 for the Christmas feast; on the latter occasion the maestro left a sizeable returnable deposit of 50 ducati with the lender¹⁷⁵. The borrowing or hiring of portable organs was common elsewhere: the Chapter at Padua Cathedral voted 3 lire for the hire of an "organetto portatile" from a local layman, Ms. Barbato, for concerti on the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1583¹⁷⁶.

In relation to organ-playing, concerto usually refers to special polychoral extravagances, with each choir supported by its own organist; a reference to a "concerto in organo" on the feast of S. Antonio in 1579 at the basilica could

however apply to the organ as a solo instrument, as the organist was paid the considerable sum of 4 ducati for this single day's activities¹⁷⁷. Appointment of an organist was usually made by audition, although a written recommendation could be submitted by the outgoing incumbent of the post¹⁷⁸. The election by audition of a new organist at Padua Cathedral in 1567 was planned for the vigil of the feast of S. Lorenzo: it was to be conducted before the singers of the cappella and the Venetian maestro Zarlino and was to follow the procedure normal at S. Marco; although the audition had to be rearranged, the revised date was for another feast, that of S. Giustina¹⁷⁹. The reason for electing feast-days for the auditions (S. Giustina was also the anniversary of the celebration of the Victory of Lepanto) lay probably in the guaranteed presence of the full cappella. The audition at S. Marco on 1st January 1585 when Gabrieli underwent the stipulated examination itself tested competence in score-reading and improvisation on a cantus firmus¹⁸⁰. The audition for the player of the "new organ" at S. Antonio in October 1579 comprised four tests: playing a short fantasia; improvising an alternatim response to the Kyrie; improvising alternatim responses in several keys to the Magnificat; strict improvisation on a "canto fermo cavato". The five candidates were expected to perform these tests before a large audience¹⁸¹.

(h) The role of instrumentalists in the cappella

Instruments were an integral part of the music-making on major and important local feasts in many large churches. In several cities the availability at a church service of instruments or an instrumental ensemble was directly due to the

existence of players employed by the city authorities. In Venice, the S. Marco orchestra had its origins in the piffari companies which traditionally gave daily concerts in the Piazza di S. Marco: Della Casa was brought from Udine with its tradition of wind-playing, and gave concerts with other players in the organ lofts of the basilica in 1568; under Bassano the core of the instrumental forces consisted of two cornetti and two trombones. The instrumentalists had to be present in the basilica whenever the doge attended a service; they played seated on benches placed probably in the lofts¹⁸². At Udine fistulatori had been employed by the city since at least 1433 and were used in church processions; by 1556 a group of five brass-players were salaried employees of the city, and this number was the norm until 1596, apart from the brief period from 1586 to 1592 when the company was diminished owing to the hardship in the city caused by the plague¹⁸³; a further two players were added in 1575 to the five already employed, and all seven given contracts to the end of 1577¹⁸⁴. At least two of the instrumentalists were musically versatile and sought an increase in salary for singing and playing on wind and string instruments and the organ, in return for which they were required to be present, to sing or play, on every third Sunday of each month at Mass - an additional duty to the normal stipulation of playing on feast-days in both the morning and evening celebrations (i.e. Mass and Vespers) and performing at all public entertainments and solemnities for which their presence was officially requested¹⁸⁵. The musicians had also to teach the zaghi in the cathedral to play their instruments¹⁸⁶.

If trombonists were the most common church instrumentalists apart from the organist, the players of the cornetto were the most respected. This is apparent both from their relatively higher salaries and from the petition of the instrumentalist Pasqualini at S. Antonio in June 1594: he refers to the cornetto as a very fatiguing instrument, but highly regarded by everyone; it is considered an embellishment of the concerti which occur on solemn feasts¹⁸⁷. The reason perhaps why Pasqualini found the cornetto so tiring was that his primary instrument was the bass trombone¹⁸⁸.

Musicians were normally expected to purchase their own instruments, although the authorities did often advance a part of the salary for this purpose: at S. Antonio, a newly-appointed cornettist was allowed an advance to buy "gli strumenti adatti a suonare", and a separate cornettist was advanced ten ducati to buy himself a dulcian¹⁸⁹.

The introduction of a violino into the S. Antonio cappella during Lent of 1586 resulted in a very favourable reception and the resolve to employ the casual player permanently¹⁹⁰; by 1594 the cappella included two violino-players. Although Cortellini il violino is listed as cantore at Bologna in June 1597 and in 1601, his alias may well belie the nature of his instrumental participation in the cappella as he is included after 1601 amongst the trombonists¹⁹¹. Too much emphasis should not be placed necessarily on the presence in a census of persons resident near Brescia Cathedral, taken on the 1st January 1572, which includes a "Luca di violini" and "Orlando di violini", the latter aged 66¹⁹².

The employment of two violins at S. Antonio was quickly followed by the hiring, for Lent and Easter (with its octave) of 1595, of a viola bastarda¹⁹³. A viola was hired by the Compagnia di S. Pietro at Modena in 1585 for the feast of its patron-saint¹⁹⁴. The fratini at S. Antonio were provided in January 1583 with a manicordo for private learning purposes¹⁹⁵. Instruments with secular connotations were used in services very infrequently: a double harp was used at the German College in Rome in July 1593 but only with the special permission of the Father General¹⁹⁶.

(j) Contracts and salaries

The most usual period for which a member of a cappella was employed was three years; a maestro was sometimes given a contract for five years¹⁹⁷, and organists were often granted longer contracts: at Padua Cathedral in January 1567, the organist was reappointed for a period of 16 years, only to be dismissed four months later¹⁹⁸. At Cremona in 1591 Morsolino was elected as organist for a period of nine years.

Payment to members of the cappella varied according to their responsibilities¹⁹⁹. The maestro received the highest salary: at S. Antonio the three-year contract for the maestro Delfico in 1565 fixed his salary at 40 ducati for the first year and 50 ducati for each successive year; by 1579 the maestro, friar Bonifacio, was receiving 80 ducati²⁰⁰; in 1590 Balbi petitioned for an increase in his yearly salary to 150 ducati but was granted 120 ducati. At Brescia in 1569 the maestro was paid 60 ducati, although the exchange rate differed from the norm²⁰¹. The salary of the maestro at Padua Cathedral in 1578 was calculated as 85 ducati with an

additional 65 ducati as payment for duties at the Seminary; by 1595 these separate salaries had been increased to 110 and 90 ducati respectively. The Padua maestro in addition had the use of a house at nominal rent²⁰².

The specification of 440 ducati (augmented to 540 ducati by a gift of 100 ducati from the Bishop) for the salaries of nine broken-voice singers at Padua in 1575 was an exception in a system of hire and reward which functioned essentially by free personal bargaining and collective allocation²⁰³. The salaries at the cathedral were generally higher than at S. Antonio: in 1576 boy singers were employed at a salary of 20 ducati paid to their father whilst at S. Antonio in 1577 boy sopranos were employed at 12 ducati; in 1592 a boy soprano received 18 ducati, and in 1597 a soprano was employed for only 6 ducati²⁰⁴; in 1589 two boy sopranos were given a cloak as a charitable payment²⁰⁵. Instrumentalists were often relatively well-paid at S. Antonio: in May 1585 the trombonist Sorte received an increase to 46 ducati whilst the new maestro, appointed a month previously, received 80 ducati; cornetto players could command high salaries: Giulio Cesar was employed at 6 ducati a month in 1595, which was increased in 1598 by 6 ducati to 78 ducati a year²⁰⁶. The recorded payment of 18 ducati a month in 1598 to a new trombonist is very probably an error²⁰⁷. The salaries of important members of the cappella were often supplemented by specified amounts of victuals: the organist at Padua Cathedral in 1567 was reappointed with an increase of 10 ducati and corn and wine²⁰⁸; Colombano as maestro at Urbino was paid 86 scudi with the addition of grain and wine²⁰⁹; a supplement of corn and wine

was granted at Aquileia and at Sacile²¹⁰. At S. Antonio the singers on the feast of the patron saint were given a free meal by the maestro: in 1567 the maestro was given an extra sum for this annually as well as 10 ducati to maintain a servant²¹¹.

The power of the church authorities over the members of the cappella was great. Outside intervention by the Bishop was rare: the opposition of the Chapter to the Bishop of Modena's championing of Capilupi and dislike of Vecchi was ineffective. At S. Marco the Procurators offered security and virtual permanence of tenure (even if their rates of pay were lower than those of rival courts), helped members of the cappella who were in financial difficulties, and resented the defection of singers to more lucrative employment, decreeing that they would stand no chance of re-employment at S. Marco²¹². The Presidenti at S. Antonio similarly showed considerable flexibility and charity in their dealings with the cappella: in 1579 the singer Spinelli was granted leave to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and assured of his post on his return²¹³; in 1589 the maestro was granted a month's leave to finish important business in Venice²¹⁴. Charitable payments were made: 10 ducati were given to the long-serving bass Perosa who had fallen ill and was returning to his family home; 12 ducati were given in 1599 to Francesco Sole for the support of the five orphans of the deceased Sorte²¹⁵. The contracts at S. Antonio were modelled on those drawn up at S. Marco, with the intention of preventing quarrels and determining duties of employees; the Presidenti of S. Antonio reserved the right to dismiss an employee before his contract had expired²¹⁶. Contracts for members of the cappella often

indulged the pride of the Chapter and official dignitaries: the contract for the appointment of Ludovico Cornalis to the post of cornetto-player at Brescia Cathedral in January 1599 is strongly influenced by contemporary legal propriety (Plate III shows the original document in full)²¹⁷.

(k) Penalties for indiscipline

The authorities at S. Antonio often reiterated the strict rules concerning absence from services: in 1579 it was stipulated that leave could only be granted by the hierarchy, and not by the maestro himself; in 1584 the singer friar Zuambattista was sacked for leaving Padua without permission; the sacking of Sorte in September 1586 for being away from Padua for the weekend of the celebration of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin led to a protracted battle to obtain his reinstatement, in which representations were made by the Guardiano in Venice and by Sorte himself to the Presidenti for arrears in salary to be paid, and in whose cause two advocates were nominated, before he was awarded 30 ducati on 23 December 1588²¹⁸; In 1587 the contralto friar Bernardin was dismissed for leaving the city without permission on the morning of 28th December; two singers were dismissed on 21st August 1598 for unauthorized absence. Dismissal for the whole cappella was threatened in 1588 owing to laxity in the wearing of cottas and birettas; two instrumentalists were dismissed the following February for omitting to wear the cotta²¹⁹; the same threat had been made to the cappella in 1586 as a result of internal scandals; the cappella was eventually suspended for nearly two months at the beginning of 1594. The maestro Vecchi together with the whole cappella

orig. in g. plarie magne musici a sonetto, qui fuit per abbatem
 et in forma, cum consensu, et auctoritate B. et Pauli et fuit de multis
 modis et singulis. ut auctoritate et sonetto sonetto fuit per
 opam sua, et servare ipsi B. et Pauli, in thoro circa musici
 quodlibet fuit, ut auctoritate (apella, in thoro circa musici) ut
 capiti. Quamobrem B. et Pauli et admodum B. et Pauli (conducunt
 agentis ut auctoritate, et ut auctoritate modo et auctoritate, et
 provisione dicit auctoritate, et auctoritate p. d. ludo et p. si auctoritate
 ut auctoritate et auctoritate singulis uno, et ad auctoritate auctoritate
 donec fuit conductio duraverit, fuit auctoritate ad auctoritate
 Berlingator et p. fuit quod fuit. Ca. in p. et confidit
 et p. auctoritate auctoritate, et auctoritate singulis singulis
 et uallata, sine qua ut auctoritate in qua ut auctoritate quod si p. l. ludo
 et p. auctoritate auctoritate auctoritate, et ut auctoritate opam sua
 et servare in oibus sua fuit et ipso auctoritate, et fuit auctoritate
 et auctoritate dicit auctoritate, et auctoritate ut auctoritate et auctoritate
 et auctoritate, quo servaverit in p. et ut auctoritate et auctoritate
 iam auctoritate. fuit et ut auctoritate auctoritate, et auctoritate
 p. auctoritate auctoritate et auctoritate auctoritate. et auctoritate et
 ultra et ut auctoritate et auctoritate auctoritate. fuit et auctoritate
 qua et quod auctoritate et auctoritate in ludo. ut auctoritate auctoritate
 et auctoritate ipsius auctoritate, et auctoritate ludo. fuit auctoritate
 confitetur per more auctoritate auctoritate. et auctoritate auctoritate
 et auctoritate cum plus auctoritate et auctoritate ut auctoritate
 et auctoritate auctoritate ad et auctoritate illis auctoritate, et auctoritate
 fuit auctoritate. auctoritate, cum auctoritate auctoritate. fuit auctoritate
 ut auctoritate auctoritate auctoritate, et auctoritate auctoritate sub auctoritate et
 et auctoritate, et auctoritate, fuit et auctoritate auctoritate auctoritate

of Modena Cathedral were dismissed also in 1594²²⁰; the cappella, excluding the maestro, at Padua Cathedral was temporarily dissolved in November 1571.

A system of graduated fines existed in many cathedrals as a deterrent to lateness and improper dress: the system which operated in Florence from 1526 onwards, fining a singer one soldo if not present by the first chorus of the sung Mass, or by the Gloria of the first psalm at Vespers, (two soldi if on a feast-day and three soldi if entirely absent) was typical of those in force in North Italy²²¹. The penalties for absence at Padua Cathedral in 1581 were 20 soldi doubled on feast-days. Insubordination towards the maestro was punished by a fine of two ducati in 1600; swearing during first Vespers at the feast of S. Sebastiano exacted a fine of five ducati from the two singers involved. Notice of fines for absence and contravention of rules was included in the S. Antonio Capitoli of 1585, at the rate of three libri for each offence, doubled on principal feasts, excused only for legitimate illness; the system of fines was elaborated slightly in 1589 to relate the amount of the fine to the extent of absence within a particular service: thus, singers and musicians forfeited 20 soldi by missing the first psalm, 40 soldi for missing the second (20 soldi on ferial days), and three libri for missing the third psalm²²².

(1) External duties of the cappella

Whilst individual singers were expressly prevented by the Capitoli from performing in other churches, except with official permission, outside visits of the whole cappella were quite common. Thus the cappella of S. Antonio, with the

maestro, went to sing at the "new" Mass at the church of S. Benedetto²²³; in December 1585, 40 monks and the whole cappella were present at the solemn ingress at Chioggia of the newly nominated Bishop who belonged to the Minorite order²²⁴; the entire cappella went to the cathedral in June 1586 to sing at the Mass celebrating the arrival of the newly-appointed Bishop Cornaro²²⁵. The cathedral cappella was allowed to sing at the church of Santacroce, in the patronage of the influential Count Hercule, on its name-feast (3rd May) in 1593 and in subsequent years; in 1593 the cappella was loaned to the monks of All Saints for their name-feast on 1st November.

CHAPTER III

SETTINGS OF THE ORDINARY OF THE MASS

It is useful to consider the mass as a distinct category both because of the wide variety of stylistic influences which affected it in its role as the main target for musical "reform", and because the structure of the mass presented composers with the challenge of satisfactorily organizing musical material, especially in the Gloria and Credo movements.

The most crucial influence was the "reform" criteria with their emphasis on clarity of word-setting resulting in largely chordal writing, and the creation - as a side-effect - of novel techniques of creating purely musical interest and cohesion. Another was the widespread adoption of the style of the French chanson mass with its passages of rapid repeated-note parlando which led to the vogue for sine nomine and brevis settings (themselves sometimes based on unacknowledged chanson models) which are often vigorous and stylistically experimental. Parody and paraphrase masses show a perceptible transition of style in both the choice of model and in its treatment, especially in an emergent feeling of proto-tonality and rhythmic impetus. It is fascinating to hear the "modernization" process within the output of composers such as Isnardi, Baccusi and Massaino. Polychoral settings represented perhaps the most vigorous challenge to the stile antico: the medium, still comparatively novel in mass settings of the 1570s, created fresh approaches to rhythm, to contrast of timbre and vocal colour, to the treatment of the bass-line and to methods of deploying large forces; the importance of the area of Brescia and

Bergamo, relatively isolated geographically from Venice, and more receptive to the trends emanating from Milan, lies in the re-emergence of the polychoral idiom in mass composition after an isolated attempt in Padua in the early decades of the century by Ruffino. Composers in this western zone of the Venetian terraferma forged new designs which the Gabriellis in Venice itself were to seize on and render more sophisticated and complex. Other cities and areas were more conservative: Rota's Missa Non mi toglia (1595) is a late example of canonic practice in Bologna; the cathedral authorities in Verona preferred more reactionary mass-settings; Baccusi's first mass-publication as maestro of the cathedral (issued in 1593)¹ features reliance on real imitation and observance of the flattened seventh of the Mixolydian mode in Missa Intonuit and, includes Missa Benedicta es coelorum Regina, which paraphrases Josquin's motet and includes a canon in the six-voice Agnus II. It is interesting that Asola, whose biographical details are far from complete,² was probably maestro at the cathedral at the time of the publication of his Missa Regina Coeli (1588) - a double-choir setting which paraphrases the plainchant antiphon. Court-dominated establishments continued to foster a more consciously academic style into the 1590s; their congregations were in no need of the educative approach of the Counter-Reformation climate and continued to indulge their liking for contrapuntal interplay. It comes as no surprise that Isnardi as maestro di cappella at the cathedral in Ferrara from 1573 to 1590³ reverts in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei movements of the otherwise forward-looking Missa Ego clamavi to a smooth contrapuntal idiom, with, in Agnus

II, canon in retrograde inversion, and a cantus firmus texted as an encomium to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara.⁴ The ducal church of Santa Barbara in Mantua, which shared its cappella with the court, was similarly conservative in its taste for mass-settings, as Gastoldi's publications of 1600 and 1602 predominantly show.

The alternatim mass referred to in Chapter II (pp. 29-30) is rare in printed sources, but there are strong indications that it was a popular genre. It was ideally suited to use in monasteries and small churches, which had either a ready body of copyists or insufficient funds to purchase printed music. The majority of manuscript sources have not survived; exceptions are two alternatim masses by Isnardi, based on the Mantuan revisions of the chant. An alternatim mass by Balbi in his 1580 set of masses is a rare published example.

The idea of gradual and natural speed of change was not, however, at the root of the stylistic changes in mass-composition which came to fruition in the last third of the 16th century. It was not enough for individual composers to commit their new concepts to manuscript; the reforming spirit of the Counter-Reformation spread its philosophy through the powerful and influential medium of print. It is significant that Ruffo's 1570 set of masses, written in direct response to Cardinal Borromeo's stipulations, were published with a persuasive preface which would have convinced church and cathedral authorities that they were ill-advised to disregard the new manner of mass-setting.

(i) The Tridentine background to the "reformed" style

The general demand for intelligibility of the text had been growing more insistent throughout the 16th century. Bishop Cirillo Franco proved one of the most forthright advocates in 1546, in calling for the "fundamental subject of the words" to determine the form of the music, the re-introduction of (ancient) styles and modes and the suppression of the "composition of fugues".⁵ Significantly, Franco had the mass uppermost in his mind when making this statement. Official support for opinions concerning the mass was given in the 22nd General Session of the Council of Trent, which upheld the recommendation of the Canon of the Committee of Deputies of September 1562, calling for the exclusion of profanity from the music of the mass, clear understanding of the words and reconstruction of the musical modes, both of which would lead to increased devotion.⁶ But, as Weinemann observed, the recommendations of the Council were in a negative vein⁷: more positive solutions came from three separate sources. Firstly, Cardinal Moroni and Cardinal Navagero proposed in a draft for the proceedings of the 24th session of the Council that polyphony be abolished; Moroni was quite capable of this extreme step in view of his actions at Modena in 1537-38 and Ferdinand I's response to this suggestion was to support the retention of polyphony. Secondly, a motu proprio issued by Pius IV on 2nd August 1564 called for the setting up of a reform commission in Rome, the Commission of Cardinals, which Cardinal Borromeo and Cardinal Vitelli joined in 1565. One of the functions of the Commission was to correct anomalies in the behaviour of church musicians⁸; but at the same time, Borromeo and Vitelli felt it within their power to find a solution to

the Council's listing of improprieties in liturgical music, and above all, in the mass, because of its central importance in the communication of the faith to congregations. Borromeo took the initiative in establishing an effective remedy and approached Ruffo, then maestro di cappella at Borromeo's provincial cathedral of Milan: first indirectly through the Archbishop's vicar at Milan with a request to "reform the singing so that the words may be as intelligible as possible" and to "compose some motets"⁹; then, on March 10th, 1565, an order was sent direct to Ruffo to compose a mass "which should be as clear as possible".¹⁰ Thirdly, regional councils were set up to implement and interpret the decrees of the central Commission; the council at Ravenna published its local decrees in 1568, reinforcing, among other points, the exclusion of melodies inappropriate to liturgical requirements.¹¹

A mass by Ruffo observing Borromeo's wishes was most probably performed at the trial of masses at the home of Cardinal Vitelli on April 27th or 28th, 1565.¹² In the dedication of his masses of 1570, the first to be published after his arrival at Milan cathedral, Ruffo states that the compositions were written in response to "that task which ... Cardinal Borromeo had formerly laid upon me: that in accordance with the decree of the sacred Council of Trent, I was to compose some masses ... which should reject everything of a profane and idle manner in worship ... I composed one mass ... so that the numbers of the syllables and the voices and tones should be clearly and distinctly understood and perceived by the pious listeners ... imitating that example, I ... composed other masses

of the same type".¹³ Lockwood points out that the original mass is not known, but that all the 1570 masses are uniform in style.¹⁴

In Ruffo's 1570 masses therefore, we are given a four-fold exemplar of the "reformed" style which, directly through his pupil Asola, pervaded the musical ideals of the liturgical compositions of the Venetian Republic in particular. Milan, however, nominally observed the Ambrosian rite, which was rigorously enforced during Borromeo's residence in Milan from 1565 to 1584; the 1570 masses are specifically composed "Ad Ritam Concilii Mediolani".¹⁵ But the peculiar characteristics of the Ambrosian rite would have normally obviated the need in the mass for a setting of the Christe and Kyrie (the latter when present occurring after the Gloria) and the Agnus Dei. As Lockwood points out, however, the dedication of the 1580 masses suggests that Borromeo desired Ruffo's reform works to "spread not only throughout our diocese (of Milan) but also into many others." We know that Borromeo's reforming zeal attempted in 1582 to correct the independent practices at Venice of employing instruments although his complaints were disregarded.¹⁶ At the time of the commission of Ruffo's mass, also, Borromeo was still based at Rome, and the trial was carried out by the Papal singers. A complete Roman setting was desirable for the widest circulation of the "reformed" mass style.

Borromeo's proverbial idealism - he strove against great political odds to institute proper observance of the liturgy and greater public participation in religion¹⁷ - is reflected in the rigorously simple style of Ruffo's 1570 masses. Nowhere does Ruffo explicitly refer to them

as being in the missa brevis tradition: they are masses purely in the Tridentine canon. Towards this goal Ruffo dispenses with his former use of parody technique: he had not before used madrigals, now proscribed for parody purposes, but motet models would have certainly resulted in undesirable polyphonic writing. The four masses are named by individual tones, as suggested by the 1562 Trent canon. The masses are conceived for four voices: Lockwood does not make extensive comment on this point apart from suggesting that the four-voice scoring is "a sign of experimentation".¹⁸ It has been suggested in Chapter I, however, that Ruffo's own background gave him acquaintance with Humanistic trends: the Humanistic leanings of his probable teacher at the Scuola degli Accoliti, Biagio Rossetti¹⁹; the period of service at the cultivated court of Alfonso d'Avalos; the early composition of madrigals for Doni's Accademia degli Ortolani at Piacenza; his services for the celebrated intellectual Accademia Filarmonica in Verona; and his experiments with misura cromatica in the 1545 madrigals.² Ormaneto may have suggested Ruffo to Borromeo as a candidate for writing reformed compositions because of these connections and influences; Borromeo himself certainly was prepared to approach Vicentino for reformed settings. The four-voice scoring itself reflects the forces of the new French chanson mass and the individual choirs of the 1550 psalms of Willaert and Jacquet. Ruffo, in the dedication of the 1570 masses to Antonello Arcimboldo, a celebrated classical scholar and able musician, acknowledges Arcimboldo's guidance in determining the stylistic approach to their composition.²¹ Mass composition for four voices was not experimental at

this time outside Italy; the experimentation consisted in meeting the limitations imposed.

(ii) Homophonic style in mass composition prior to Ruffo's 1570 masses

Rore's later masses illustrate a North Italian trend towards more chordal treatment of the longer mass movements, which was disregarded by composers closer to the orbit of Rome, who preferred to continue the polyphonic style of the Franco-Flemish musicians. The Missa a note negra was in all probability composed after 1557, the year of the publication of its French model Tout ce qu'on peut en elle voir²² and, in contrast to the tightly contrapuntal earlier masses, features, as well as its distinctive modern C notation, a considerable amount of chordal writing (e.g. Kyrie I, opening of Gloria and Credo; 'et invisibilium et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum'; 'Et incarnatus' section; 'Et iterum venturus est'; 'qui ex patre ...'; 'qui cum Patre et Filio'; 'Et unam Sanctam ...'; 'Et vitam venturi ...'; opening of Agnus I; 'Miserere nobis'.) The writing is not purely isometric, often being syncopated by a leading or delayed voice, but the ethos is much more one of intelligibility. Rore's Missa Douce Memoire has been dated to the last years of his life: Meier suggests that it may have been composed for Archduke Ferdinand II (recto I) between December 1564 and early 1565. An indication that it was sung in areas sensitive to the Trent dictates is its translated title Missa super dulcis memoria, which Meier suggests was designed to hide its secular derivation.²³ Alvin Johnson in discussing this mass states that "the emphasis on contrasts

of colour and timbre and the preponderance of the homophonic treatment are features that indicate a new approach to choral writing."²⁴ The model itself, a chanson by Sandrin, may have been chosen for its possibilities of chordal parody, as at the opening of Kyrie I, Gloria, the Credo sections 'ex Maria Virgine ... passus et sepultus est', 'iudicare vivos et mortuos', and Agnus II's 'dona nobis pacem'.

Chordally-biased settings facilitating clear textual comprehension can often claim, however, an alternative, non-Tridentine ancestry. Lassus's parody of the same chanson Doulce memoire is even more thoroughly chordal than Rore's parody²⁵, especially so in the Gloria, Credo, and 'Pleni sunt coeli', where long stretches of the musical setting are in virtual nota-contra-notam style (cf. 'Et in terra ...', 'Qui tollis ...', 'Deum de Deo ...', 'Et in Spiritum ...', 'Qui cum Patre', 'Et unam sanctam catholicam ...'). Lassus's Missa Iager takes the nota-contra-notam procedure to extremes, completing the Gloria in 42 bars of almost completely syllabic writing in seldom-relieved four-part harmony, and the Credo in 79 bars with a greater proportion of two-part imitative sections;²⁶ the five-bar Kyrie I only allows time for two statements of 'Kyrie eleison'. This presentation of the missa brevis type by Lassus is determined, however, by secular circumstances; the diminutive scale of the movements is in the tradition of the missa venatorum dating from the late Middle Ages which provides as short as possible a setting of the mass to enable hunting-parties to get away at the earliest opportunity.²⁷ Despite its close resemblance to the so-called missa brevis type, therefore, the stimulus for its composition was not

derived from liturgical pronouncement - indeed the opposite was the case, as the Commission of seven bishops which met on July 20th, 1562 disapproved of abbreviated masses.²⁸

Sharing the four-voice scoring of the "short" masses of Lassus are the majority of French mass-settings of the 16th century. With few exceptions they are all parody masses based on motets or chansons. Lesure ascribes the French vogue for the missa brevis type of writing with minimal imitation and melisma to "the increase of the number of Low Masses in the liturgy".²⁹ The genesis of the "Parisian" chanson in the 1528 prints of Attaingnant, with its simple, clear musical writing influenced the trend towards clarity in mass composition, possibly more so than did the contemporary ecclesiastical debates in liturgical propriety.³⁰ The parlando of the Gloria and Credo movements is in many cases a direct borrowing from the "chattering" of the chanson.³¹ Canon is for the most part avoided. The proper accentuation of the Latin text is often sacrificed to the straitened syllabic nature of the setting and the motives interrelating different movements.³² Clereau's Missa In me transierunt has a short Kyrie I of six bars, although the Christe and Kyrie II are imitative by contrast; the Gloria is in chordal style throughout, and the chordal setting of the Credo subjects the text to much misaccentuation in order to feature genuine French rhythms.³³

This French four-voice chanson-based style pervaded the musical climate of North Italy via Milan. Artistic connections with Milan, through its conquest by Francis I, had been strengthened, and, as late as 1574, Venice was the host to Henri III en route from Poland, in the

hope of enlisting aid against the new Spanish influence in the duchy of Milan. The dactylic rhythm of the French four-voice chanson itself gave rise to the canzona which came into vogue in Italy in the 1570s especially in Gardano's publications.³⁴ Links between the French mass style and Italian mass composition of the 1550s and 1560s are thus quite plausible.

Ruffo's 1557 mass publication itself provides an indication of the trend of mass composition. In the two 1557 masses based on Jaquet motets - Salvum me fac and Aspice Domine - Ruffo elides the Sanctus and 'Pleni', showing the effect of the shortening of the mass setting as a whole on his development.³⁵ The 1557 Sine Nomine mass further develops the trend towards brevity: the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo movements are more than twice as short as those in the 1542 volume and the remainder of the 1557 volume; the Sanctus and both Agnus Dei movements are again shorter; the Credo is reduced to two sections for the first time; triple metre is employed for two complete sections - Kyrie II and 'Osanna'. Kyrie I occupies only 13 bars through close polyphonic compression: Lockwood states that "the style of the Sine Nomine represents a struggle to fit polyphonic techniques into the shortest framework that can convey the entire mass text"³⁶; he categorises it as, in effect, Ruffo's first missa brevis. This "trend towards brevity" finds its goal in the 1570 masses which are stylistically completely subservient to the desire for intelligibility.

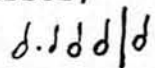
(iii) "Reform"-style masses

The absence of a model in the true "reform" masses forced the two major exponents of the genre - Ruffo and

Asola - to discover new ways of motivating their material and of giving the mass a sense of unity and cohesion. Their solutions were: to develop a sense of melodic formula, for use as mottoes shared by the opening of each movement, and to create a feeling of climax by distinctive melodic "fingerprints" at cadences; to create rhythmic vitality by introducing extensive use of crotchet values, cross-rhythm and isometric writing; to explore contrasts of texture by using reservata techniques of voice accumulation and by exploiting six-part textures in an architectural manner; to introduce a basso ostinato in the Christe of Missa quarti toni - a descending transposed Phrygian scale stated five times, with the fourth statement in diminution and the final statement in double diminution;³⁷ and to introduce a heightened feeling of tonal awareness and "key"-area, both for contrast of mood and unification of material.

Ruffo's trademark is the tonic-mediant relationship; in the Gloria of the Missa primi toni of 1570³⁸ the mediant area of the first section with its E flat colouring is balanced in the second section by the same harmony at 'tu solus sanctus'. The "tonic to mediant" formula is a feature in the secundi toni mass (Gloria opening; 'Et unam sanctam'; Agnus II); here the mediant area is particularly prominent at the opening of Kyrie II. In the Missa de Feria which Lockwood tentatively dates as 1572,³⁹ the progression to the mediant is as strong a feature as in the 1570 primi toni mass; the strong tutti at bar 5 of the Credo is made more effective by its B flat major setting.⁴⁰ Asola is less adventurous than Ruffo in his exploration of mediant areas, preferring to commence important phrases within

a section in the tonic or dominant; the mediant area is used rarely, but in the Credo of the Missa secundi toni (1591)⁴¹ it is effectively treated at 'per quem omnia', 'descendit de caelis' and 'qui cum patre'; C major is preferred to create a deliberate focal point to the movement at 'Et incarnatus' and the important phrase 'passus et sepultus'.

Rhythmic interest is strongest in the longer movements - Gloria and Credo. Ruffo's 1570 primi toni and secundi toni masses feature much isometric minim syncopation, especially effective when preceded by a rest in all parts. The Credo de FERIA, in three sections, is thoroughly chordal, and musical interest is centred, as in the earlier 1570 masses, on the rhythmic handling. The dotted rhythmic figure  is widespread - 'Patrem omni(potentem)',⁴² 'genitum non factum', 'consubstantialem', 'et in spiritum', 'sanctum Dominum', 'qui ex Patre', 'et conglorifi(catur)'; indeed, such is the feeling of rhythmic drive that the accentuation of 'Patrem omni(potentem)' and 'et conglorifi(catur)' is distorted by their rhythmic setting. As Lockwood observes, the de FERIA mass gives new importance to the crotchet⁴³, to which individual syllables are often set. By contrast Ruffo's 1572 Missa a Voce (sic) Pari⁴⁴ has slight rhythmic interest, and it is hard to justify this stylistically as a "reform" mass, despite its inclusion in a volume "novamente composte secondo la forma del Concilio Tridentino". The radical change of ethos in the late 1560s is well demonstrated in the contents of Asola's two books of masses published in 1570; each volume contains three masses of which five are parodies, and the sixth - very probably the last of the set to have been composed - is entitled primi toni. Here there is a new tendency towards the use of note nere

values and syllabic writing in the Gloria and Credo with lively syncopated rhythms. The trend continues in the 1574 masses a voci pari; the Gloria and Credo of Missa quarti toni have isometric openings and minimal melismatic elaboration; it is perhaps a sign of the success of Asola's response to the techniques of the new style that the 1574 volume was reissued six times up to and including 1607, by which time small-scale concertato mass-settings had begun to circulate. The Credo of the Missa secundi toni features passages of syllabic crotchet chordal writing (bars 18-19, 97, 100-102) and effective isometric syncopation (at 'Et in spiritum sanctum', 'qui ex patre', and '(cum) glorificatur'); this mass-setting is progressive in its adoption of a C signature.

To vary the chordal treatment without clouding the text presentation, Ruffo introduces the technique of voice-accumulation (Lockwood refers to it as "incrementation")⁴⁵ in the primi toni and secundi toni masses of 1570; in the process, the vocal parts enter successively but with the phrase or syllable which has already been reached in the other voice(s). Thus in the secundi toni mass the Bassus, Tenor, Altus and Cantus enter successively with the appropriate syllable at 'Qui tollis peccata' (the Altus thus starts with '-lis peccata') - similarly at 'Qui sedes', 'Miserere nobis', 'Et ascendit' (here the device is used pictorially), and 'Pleni sunt caeli'. The closest model for this technique is Coclico's Consolationes Piaae Musica Reservata (1552), much of which is in chordal style, and where final syllables are omitted to represent vanishing.

The trademark of a distinctive melodic figure or harmonic progression permeates Ruffo's "reform" masses. In the

1570 primi toni the Cantus at the close of a section or movement falls from the fifth to a natural third (e.g. 'descendit de caelis' in the Gloria; 'Amen' in the Credo; Agnus I and II). This is present to a greater degree in the de Feria Credo; bars 9-10 (flattened third), 26-27 (flattened third), 33-34, 54-55, 109-110, 116-117 (final cadence). In the Credo of de Feria the same cadential progression occurs at bars 2, 9-10, 11-12, 17 (transposed), 21-22 (transposed), 26-27, 50-51, 66, 81, 95-96, 103, 109-110, 110-111. This distinctive progression serves both to unify the movement and to create a pervading tonal sense through the frequent repetition of the pungent angular harmonic progression of subdominant minor - dominant with sharpened third - tonic. The bass-line (Ex. 1) which was encountered in the 1570 primi toni mass is also prevalent - at bars 10-11, 56-57, 58, 89-90, 100-101; a separate formula also occurs throughout the movement based on example 2, at bars 19 (in diminution), 37-38, 44-46, 46-48 (a transposed repeat of the preceding phrase), 59-60, 73-74 (incomplete), 102-103 (altered slightly). Asola unifies the mass by creating his own head-motives; thus in the 1570 mass primi toni the Kyrie I motive recurs at the opening of the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus, and the Christe and Kyrie II motive recurs at the opening of the Credo and at 'Et iterum' and 'Osanna'. In the 1581 set of masses a4 each of the eight settings has a distinctive shared motive at the start of each movement as a unifying device. This principle is repeated in the 1588 masses a3, although the head-motive of the primi toni mass applies to the 'Osanna' but not to the opening of the Sanctus. This principle

of organisation, though rooted in parody and paraphrase treatment is nevertheless a fresh and rational approach to unifying a setting, and one which was used to good effect in 17th century concertato settings (e.g. Lorenzo Agnelli, 1637).

The number of voice-parts in "reform" mass-settings was influenced by the need for clarity. Ruffo's 1570 masses follow the French chanson mass and the missa brevis in this respect. In the 1572/1580 set he reverted to five voice-parts - the more usual medium for contemporary vocal compositions - and the settings benefit in the increased scope allowed for subtle changes in scoring from phrase to phrase; it is possible that Ruffo felt that they would appeal to a wider market with a more conventional scoring, especially as the preface claims that the masses were intended to be useful in areas outside Milan.⁴⁶ The six-voice masses of 1574 allow even more contrast between tutti and differing combinations of four or five voices, thus lending the concise, often syllabic, chordal style greater musical interest. Asola's "reform" settings are synonymous with restrained textures and timbres; after the 1570 primi toni for six voices which complemented the two parody masses, the "reform" masses were in no more than four voice-parts until the five-voice publication of 1591.

Whilst "reform" masses are associated principally with Ruffo and his pupil Asola, the genre attracted the attention of other prelates, such as Cardinal Rovere who instructed Porta, if we trust the preface of the 1578 set of six masses a4, to write masses based on modes and in a simple style.⁴⁷ At least two of the masses, however, have been exposed as parodies on madrigals - Palestrina's

Vestiv'i colli and Rore's Com'havran fin.⁴⁸ The motive for not exposing the true basis of the masses is clearly based on the then still strong disapproval of secular elements in mass composition. It would seem, however, that he was in a dilemma; his natural style of composition lay in the polyphonic manipulation of cantus firmus and motet models, which made neither for a simple nor a clearly intelligible presentation of the text to the congregation. He was not equipped to conjure up fresh solutions to more abstract settings of the mass-text, and found the answer in parodying the harmonic progressions and complete texture of whole passages of the models, which, pace Pruett, was a trend which gathered momentum later in the century in the parodies of composers who were able to acknowledge openly their secular model. The style of the six masses justifies the means, and the Rore parody, apart from the expansive Sanctus and Agnus Dei, is succinct and approaches the tautness of a missa brevis.⁴⁹

(iv) Brevis and sine nomine masses

As the reforming era of Trent receded, publications acknowledging the limitations under which settings should be composed became rarer. The "reform" style had, however, influenced mass-composition beyond its immediate brief by encouraging composers to seek fresh ways of constructing mass-settings in the absence of a model. This is not to exclude the influence on Venetian composers, most notably the Gabriellis, of Lassus's thoroughly chordal settings, or direct acquaintance with the French chanson mass type. The "reform" mass, however, made the chordal idiom respectable,

and composers were quick to make a virtue rather than a necessity of the musical techniques which Ruffo and Asola had used in the cause of intelligibility. The brevis and sine nomine masses are often highly individual and demonstrate a readiness to experiment stylistically; bland, melismatic settings, such as Viadana's four-voice Missa sine nomine of 1596, are the exception to the trend.

Andrea Gabrieli's Missa brevis⁵⁰ is probably the first example of its type by a native North Italian composer. Its occurrence in a manuscript source in Augsburg, dated 1580, is a significant pointer to a direct stylistic connection with Lassus. The setting is characterized by extreme succinctness and directness; both the Gloria and Credo are treated syllabically almost throughout (e.g. 'deprecationem' is set in the Cantus to a monotone; variety is achieved by simple contrast of the four-part texture and by rapid contrasts of mood; in the Credo for example the chordal 'Et iterum' gives way to lively crotchet runs at 'vivos', followed by E flat colouring of the slow-moving tutti at 'mortuos'. The mass opened the gates for a flood of brevis and sine nomine settings by North Italian composers and established the style as the vogue of the 1580s and early 1590s. Rota's 1595 volume of masses includes a brevis setting a4 and a sine nomine setting a5. The former is a typical example of the few-voice setting, with practically no flesh on its taut frame⁵¹; brevity is achieved by syllabic writing and textual overlapping, with no sectionalization in either Gloria or Credo to avoid unnecessary cadences; the Gloria is only 55 bars in length, of which the 'Amen' accounts for eight. Other, initially less-accomplished, composers were prepared to publish masses as brevis to benefit from

the interest in the genre. Giulio Belli's 1586 brevis setting, for example, is not really brevis except in name;⁵² the Credo itself is 179 bars long, and is in three sections; its style is expansive and exuberant rather than restrained and succinct, with a wealth of musical ideas and evidence of the composer's fine ear for sonority. The key to the dichotomy is that Belli was still only 26 when the volume was published,⁵³ and a very ambitious young maestro de cappella at Imola Cathedral. He was still learning his craft, and, ironically, the rich sonority and detailed texture of the mass, so uncharacteristic of the brevis style, was inspired by the flourishing state of his cappella.⁵⁴ It is interesting, nevertheless, at this point to examine this setting, before returning to more typical examples, to discover along what lines a young, impulsive provincial composer was working. The practical difficulties of reconciling a contrapuntal, modal training with newer pseudo-tonal chordal working is demonstrated by the considerable amount of false-relation and lack of assured handling of key-areas. Belli is more at ease in chordal textures enlivened by loose internal imitation, in which there is constant contrast of mood and shape. Thus, 'Patrem omnipotentem' features falling melismas and internal rising octaves; 'factorem coeli' has a single decorative pattern in a steady minim tread; 'visibilium omnium' is a highly-charged rhythmic phrase, with repeated crotchet articulation climaxed by a full F major syncopated chord. This approach of course reflects Andrea Gabrieli's style, and did not demand the technical expertise of thorough polyphonic working. Indeed, when Belli attempts contrapuntal working at the opening of the middle section, it sounds forced and unconvincing,

with its inherent ambivalence of key-area (bars 65-66) which results in false-relation (bar 68). The imitation point at 'Et resurrexit' is likewise rhythmically square and flat, with ill-disguised consecutive movement (bars 83-86), and that at 'Confitebor' is unsure in its key direction.

The stylistic shortcomings of Belli's first incursion into the genre of the missa brevis were largely remedied in the eight-voice Missa brevis of 1595⁵⁵, which appeared whilst Belli was maestro at the Frari church in Venice. The Credo of this mass shows his style to have matured and become more uniform in its rhythmic articulation with that of the Venetian school. The C signature and the clef combination of C1 C3 C4 F4 in choir I, and C3 C4 C4 F4 in choir II are thoroughly modern and the two choirs engage in a frenetic contest of rhythmic thrust and parry, with exciting quaver detail and powerful tutti. Gone are the reactionary consecutive fourths of the 1586 Credo, and the uncertainty of harmonic direction and the frequent false-relations of the earlier setting are all but absent. Here the setting is strongly characterized by extensive use of fifths progressions and skilful ordering of rhythmic quantities. The opening 11-bar musical paragraph is built on detailed rhythmic development; the crotchet movement of the opening tutti is slightly altered at 'visibilium' by the inclusion of a repeated quaver rhythm from the sequential echo of which the rhythmic tread is gradually augmented towards a sonorous tutti climax in bar 8, which is immediately dissolved by renewed crotchet passing movement. A second brief paragraph is constructed in the same manner (bars 11-16), with the rhythmic movement being progressively

broadened towards the cadence. The rhythmic organisation is complemented by sequential repetition (e.g. 'factorem caeli et terrae' and 'visibilium omnium') and frameworks of fifths movement, as at bars 4-5 where the progression is from E to C, repeated at bars 6-9 during the broadening of the rhythm; the same device assumes importance at 'ex Maria Virgine', 'Et in Spiritum', 'simul adoratur', 'Et expecto', and 'Et vitam venturi'. This strength of construction does not inhibit Belli's sense of texture and colour; the bass-lines occasionally diverge from the unison or octave when an increase of sonority from extra harmony notes is momentarily desired (e.g. bar 9 'Jesum', bar 22 'omnia', bar 34 'homo', bar 50 'secundum', bar 61 'dominum', bar 65 'simul', bar 78 'mortuorum', and bar 88 'venturi'). The 'Crucifixus' section is harmonically expressive, with suspended sevenths at bars 41 and 42 and a 6/4, 5/3 progression at bar 43; the setting of 'Et incarnatus' is also harmonically rich, with augmented triads at bars 28 and 30, and poignant suspensions of a seventh (bar 30) and a fourth (bar 31). G minor colouring at 'passus et sepultus' is immediately contradicted by the B naturals of the vigorous G major chording at 'Et resurrexit'.

Sine nomine settings are mostly in a strongly syllabic style. In Asola's masses a5 of 1588 the text is presented concisely with frequent dotted rhythms and note nere writing; it is interesting that the marked resemblance of the openings of the Credo and Benedictus of Missa tertia to the opening of Janequin's Chant des Oiseaux (Ex. 3) which had provided the model for the 1570 Missa Reveillez, suggests that the influence of the French chanson, with its repeated note motives, and ostinato rhythms, was still strong, and, moreover,

that observance of Tridentine policy was becoming more lax.⁵⁶ It is curious therefore to find that Croce's three five-voice masses of 1596⁵⁷ are set to tones (six, three and eight), and that the set was reissued three years later with an additional six-voice mass, stylistically much more conservative and bland; this points to a reversal in fashion in Venice towards settings which were consciously more antico in style, and which is echoed by the stile antico character of Monteverdi's mass output. The masses a5 are motivated by syncopation, sequential treatment (Ex. 4), and compressed imitation of concise, simple motives⁵⁸, with the Venetian characteristic of triple time sections occasionally concluding movements. Tudini responds excellently to the challenge of writing rhythmically vigorous settings with a well-developed sense of sonority in his five-voice masses of 1589. The fifth voice is a second Cantus and, in the Gloria of the Missa prima⁵⁹ both rise in tutti passages to g"; moreover, the Altus is also pitched relatively high, resulting in effective triadic combinations in the upper three voices (e.g. bars 14, 30, 44, 57, 62, 68) and results in an interesting duet-plus-bass disposition at 'Benedicimus te' and 'Domine fili unigenite'. He handles fifths progressions confidently (e.g. bars 1-3, 64-67) and is very fond of the cadential suspended seventh (bars 5, 10, 12, 17, 20, 23, 34, 42, 55, 58, 64, 69); such a cadence formula closes the first tutti phrase and the first and second sectional halves, thus assuming a structural function as repeated formulas.

Not all composers were as successful as Tudini or Belli in coming to terms with the demands of free settings of the longer movements of the mass. Pontio's attempts

are at times rather pedestrian, but, as in Belli's earlier brevis setting, an examination of the mediocre can be as revealing as that of the assured craftsman, if not more so, in appreciating the compositional process. A sine nomine setting is included in each of the mass volumes of 1581, 1584, 1585 and 1592. The single-choir settings are concise, but the predominating minim movement is bland and unexciting, with little attempt at chromatic interest. The double-choir medium of the 1585 example produces in the Gloria⁶⁰ more imaginative harmonic progression and more varied possibilities of sonority afforded by the "choro separato". The fine 'Amen' cadence features closely-imitated falling crotchet lines in Cantus and Tenor voices. Antiphonal phrases are often thoughtfully balanced, by cadential repetition (bars 11 and 13), by sequential superimposition (e.g. at 'gratias' and 'Iesu Christe') or by sequential answer (e.g. 'Qui tollis' bars 51, 54, 58; 'miserere' bars 71-5). Part-writing is often, however, idiosyncratic; bars 6, 10, 53 and 61 share the same progression of accented passing note in the third highest part clashing with a cambiata figure in the second highest part in each choir.⁶¹ The seventh suspension of Tenor I against the Quintus at bar 72 results in an unsatisfactory resolution in unison with the uppermost part in the same choir. Pontio seems at times rather unsure of his ground in deciding on points of modulation; at 'propter magnam gloriam' a circle of fifths takes the music quickly from C to A only to return abruptly to C. One suspects that Pontio was aware of the usefulness of fifths progressions but not of how to use them to the best structural advantage; ironically, the

Cantus line suffers melodically from the difficulty Pontio experiences with some of the harmonic progressions. Despite the limitations, however, this sine nomine mass exemplifies the readiness of minor North Italian composers to attempt to develop particular stylistic features to lend individuality to their settings.

(v) Small-scale parody masses

Despite their significance, "reform" and free masses remained in the minority. The parodying of motets remained a constant basis of mass-composition; parodies of madrigals, which were numerous in the 1570s and early 1580s, are less common towards the close of the century. The advantage of models was the provision of sections of material, whether motivic or harmonic, which the composer adapted to the mass-text; the skill lay initially in the processing rather than in the composing, and in the alteration of the texture through the addition of one or more voice-parts, but composers often disregarded their model in the Gloria and Credo movements in favour of largely original composition; thus, a knowledge of the model is often superfluous in assessing the skill of the composer in setting the mass-text itself. Madrigals usually provided passages of chordal writing; Baccusi draws extensively on Lassus's Standomi un giorno⁶² in his 1570 parody for chordal passages at the second Kyrie, 'Pleni sunt coeli' and 'Qui tollis', but also preserves the wide-leaping character of the angular bass-line. Asola uses the same model in his 1570 masses a5, as well as the Janequin chanson Le chant des oiseaux; Janequin's La Guerre is parodied in the companion volume of masses a6, and Asola

makes full use of the repeated note motives, triadic phrases and ostinato rhythms of the original, even in the 'Crucifixus', but also, more appropriately, as 'resurrectionem' and, in the Sanctus, at 'gloria tua' (Ex. 5), and expands the model by adding a sixth part, and seventh and eighth voices in the Agnus. Parodies of Lassus's chansons were widespread in North Italy; Susanne un giour is used in collections by Merulo⁶³ and by Ingegneri published in 1573; Merulo capitalizes on the model's excursion to the equivalent of the relative major in Kyrie I, Kyrie II, and at 'Glorificamus te'. Viadana's parody of the madrigal L'ora passa is very compressed and can be considered a missa brevis in all but name⁶⁴; the three sections of the Kyrie total only twenty bars, and the Benedictus is a mere three and a half bars; the simple chordal treatment does allow for effective contrast of vocal register to illustrate the phrases 'et sepultus' and 'Et resurrexit'. Belli's parody of Vestiva i colli of 1597 is highly rhythmic and thoroughly syllabic, and was probably a simple expedient to bring his first mass-publication of 1586 stylistically more up-to-date in the second edition by substituting it for a conservative motet parody. Spontoni's Missa Così estrema la doglia⁶⁵ is in tune with the harmonic and antiphonal trends of the time; the relationship of B natural to E flat is frequently exploited in dominant to tonic progressions, and the phrase 'deus pater omnipotens' is based on a broad fifths progression which extends from an A major harmony, through a cycle of major harmonies to B flat, before levelling out to F; although the potential for contrasting upper and lower groupings is presented by the six-voice texture,

Spontoni prefers to use contrasting groups of four voices, the most common groupings being C, A, Sex., T/B answered by A, Q, T, B (e.g. Gloria; 'Glorificamus'; Credo; 'et filio', 'et unam sanctam', 'qui sedes'). Rhythmic treatment, however, even in the Gloria and Credo, is unexciting and the style is prevalently contrapuntal.

The smooth lines of mid-16th century motet were rarely reproduced in the parodies; the outline and imitation procedure were retained but with more detailed declamatory syllabification within the original note-values. The following detailed table of the derivation of material in Baccusi's Missa Aspice Domine (1570) from the Gombert model demonstrates the extent of the parody process (Ex. 6).⁶⁶ The contrapuntal tour de force is the combination in the Agnus Dei of the two main motives of the motet 'Aspice ...' and 'Muro tuo'.

<u>Mass</u>		<u>Motet</u>	
<u>Kyrie</u>			
b.1-17	Kyrie I	b.1-18	'Aspice, Domine, quia facta est'
b.27-33	Christe	b.21-28	'desolata civitas'
b.36-43	"	b.35-40	'plena divitiis'
b.44-51	"	b.43-50	'sedet in tristitia'
b.57-74	Kyrie II	b.108-123	'Muro tuo in expugnabili
b.74-78	"	b.131-135	'circumcinge eam' (ii)
b.78-88	"	b.175-183	'Domine Deus'
<u>Gloria</u>			
b.1-10	'Et in terra pax'	b.1-7	
b.10-12	'bonae volun-	b.13-15	'quia facta'
	tatis	b.94-98	'nisi tu Deus' (ii)
b.19-23	'Glorificamus'		(Cantus)
b.23-26	'Gratias agimus'	b.51-55	'sedet in tristitia'
			(outline)
b.38-41	'Domine fili'	b.59-63	'domina gentium'
b.63-68	'Qui tollis'	b.128-132	
b.71-75		b.108-110	
b.87-93	'miserere nobis'	b.150-153	'tuae potentiae'
			(loose correspondence)

MassMotetGloria

b.76-78	'suscipe'	b.59-63	
b.83-85	'qui sedes'	{ b.128-132	
b.96-100	'tu solus'	{ b.108-110	
b.105-110	'cum sancto'	b.94-98	
b.110-121	'in gloria'	b.89-93	'nisi tu Deus' (i)
		b.128-131	'circumcinge eam' (i)

Credo

b.1-7	'Patrem omnipotentem'	{ b.131-135	
		{ b.108-110	
b.12-16	'visibilium'	b.46-55	
b.18-23	'et in unum'	b.150-157	
b.24-25	'filium Dei'	b.46-55	
b.27-34	'et ex patre'	b.1-7	
b.35-40	'Deum de Deo, lumen'	b.94-98	
b.44-48	'Deum vero'		
b.50-53	'Genitum'	b.150-157	
b.56-59	'consubstantiallem'		
b.94-95	'Crucifixus'	b.108-110	
b.99-102	'sub Pontio' (Quintus)	b.1-7	
b.105-108	'passus'	b.13-15	
b.121-127	'et ascendit'	b.1-7 (with prefixed rising fifth)	
b.128-132	'sedet'	b.89-92 (motive altered in parody)	
b.161-169	'Et in spiritum'	b.1-4 (Tenor)	
		b.108-110	
b.184-187	'et conglorificatur'	b.13-15	
b.192-199	'et unam'	b.21-28	
b.211-213	'et expecto' (Altus)	b.157-168 'protege'	
b.210-222	'et vitam'	b.59-63	

Sanctus

b.1-10	'Sanctus'	b.1-4 (Bassus)	
b.10-15	'Dominus Deus'	b.13-15	
b.20-26	'Peni sunt'	b.108-110	
b.30-35	'Gloria tua'	b.46-55 (Altus)	
b.36-50	'Osanna'	b.13-15	
		{ b.131-135	
b.51-66	'Benedictus'	{ b.108-110	

Agnus Dei

	'Aspice Domine ... deus noster'		
b.1-70	'Muro tuo ... Domine Deus'		
b.33-38	'Miserere nobis' (Bassus)	b.101-106	'nisi tu, Deus'

In his parody, Baccusi has, despite the pathos of the model, demonstrated stylistically a new sense of direction. He distorts the modality of the model by frequent harmonic angularity and tonal modification, as in the cadences in G minor and C minor specifically indicated by accidentals in bars 51-53 of the Gloria. The more pungent dissonances of the motet are deliberately excluded; the phrase 'non est qui consoletur' with its successive double suspensions is excluded, and 'desolata civitas' appears in the mass shorn of its seventh suspensions. Missa Ne reminiscaris (1593) also creates an angular tonal effect from its Dorian mode model by frequent provision of accidentals.

In Isnardi's mass output⁶⁷ we can trace the trend towards homophonic harmonic progressions and syllabic writing, which reaches its logical summation in the 1594 eight-voice double-choir mass.⁶⁸ The early masses are thoroughly contrapuntal with extensive use of canonic display. Missa Ego clamavi (1581) and Missa Ave gratia plena (1590) break the contrapuntal mould by increasing use of internal antiphony and imaginative structural device. Although the Sanctus and Agnus Dei revert to a smooth contrapuntal idiom, the Credo of Missa Ego clamavi exemplifies well his individual and progressive approach.⁶⁹ Tutti are motivated by cross-rhythm and fifths progressions (e.g. bars 12-17, 62-65) and the augmentation of the Cantus's rising phrase of bars 75-80 serves to build a climax at the section-close. Characteristic textural devices feature extensively; the use of octave leaps in Tenor and Quintus is common (e.g. bars 10, 17-18, 29, 36, 76-77, 81, 141, 156, 184), and the occurrence of the 9-8 suspension in the Cantus at a cadence (bars 18, 23, 55,

146, 168) and the 6-5 crotchet appoggiatura at the approach to a cadence, again in the Cantus (bars 37, 158, 168) is an Isnardi fingerprint.

Massaino's mass output shows a similar gradual change of style, which is influenced within each publication by the choice of model. Thus, whilst Missa Adiuro vos of the 1587 publication is thoroughly melismatic, Missa Veni dilecte mi is syllabic and, stylistically, far from uniform.⁷⁰ This latter mass typifies, like so many others published in the 1580s, the transitional stage, in which tonal awareness, applied to a modal framework, results in awkward false-relations and resultant problems of ficta application, and in which written out ornamentation (e.g. Cantus; bar 77 of the Credo) and harmonic experimentation distend the balance and homogeneity of the model. The strongly modal flavour (transposed Dorian) of the Kyrie and Agnus Dei is transmuted in the inner movements to passages of marked tonal feeling; only one E flat is specified in the Agnus Dei, whereas the Gloria and Credo often include the specified B natural - E flat outline (Credo bars 9-10, 36-39, 68-69). Massaino's fondness for sequential patterns emerges in the Gloria at 'Domine Deus', and in the Credo at 'Et incarnatus' (bars 30-31) and, most effectively, at 'cuius regni ...' (bars 60-62) where the Bassus descends through a seventh against a syncopated Quintus. Fifths progression is rare, as the Bassus is closely tied to motivic statement.

The movements of Canali's Missa Spiritus Domini (1588) are short and unelaborated, apart from a florid 'Amen' section in the Credo; all three sections of the Agnus Dei are set, as in Spontoni's Missa Così estrema la doglia.

The limited vocal resources are effectively used in the brief sequential passage at 'qui tollis' (Ex. 7). Viadana's Missa Audi filia (1596) introduces the falsobordone technique, at the phrase 'Et incarnatus est' - an imaginative alternative to the traditional slow chordal setting, which Gastoldi borrowed in his eight-voice Missa Octavi toni (1607) at the phrase 'genitum non factum'. Viadana's Missa Cantabo Domino of 1596 features an exciting sequential 'Amen'.

(vi) Settings which paraphrase a single-line cantus prius factus

Masses based on a single-line cantus prius factus are rare in North Italy in this period. The settings are based on chant associated with Marian texts, and are almost uniformly reactionary in style. Asola's double-choir Missa Regina coeli of 1588⁷¹ is a notable exception to the trend of polychoral masses to homophonic writing; rhythmic interest is slight, although fifths progression are used to create effective climaxes, as at the close of Kyrie II; the Credo is not based on the three paraphrased motives of the plainchant antiphon (Ex. 8), and, as in the parody masses, receives the most imaginative treatment, being frequently highlighted by tutti passages and by apt pictorialism, as at 'descendit de caelis' where a falling triad is imitated throughout the a8 texture, and at 'et vitam venturi' where the phrase is "prolonged" by involved counterpoint. Canali's four-voice Missa Beatae Mariae Virginis (1588) is contrapuntal, and Pontio's 1592 Missa De Beata Virgine, whilst syllabic in style with bland minim movement, features a canonic Agnus II.

(vii) Polychoral settings

Settings of masses for two choirs began reappearing in North Italy in the early 1570s⁷² as single settings grouped with a number of masses for smaller forces. The area of production was small at first, comprising the orbit of Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona. Ingegneri's Missa Laudate pueri dominum was published in 1573, Vinci's Missa Domine in virtute tua in 1575, and Antegnati's parody of Striggio's six-voice madrigal Nasce la pena mia⁷³ in 1578. The trend for double-choir settings would seem to have spread eastwards from Milan; Baccusi includes a double-choir parody on Altro non è' il mio amor in his first Mantuan mass publication of 1585, and thereafter polychoral settings occur with increasing frequency in the region as a whole. Milan was an important centre for large-scale composition; Gratiani's 12-voice mass, published there in 1587, is a significant historical and geographical complement to Gabrieli's set of mass-movements of the same year, although the level of Gratiani's inspiration is far lower, featuring staid repetition by each choir of the same motivic figure for each phrase of the text, with limited rhythmic interest. Double-choir settings often present a stylistic contrast to the fewer-voiced settings; Sorte's Credo a8 (1596) displays far more rhythmic vigour than those of his masses a4 and a5 (Ex. 9). Gastoldi's double-choir Missa Quam suavis (1600) likewise features an increase in the proportion of angular bass-lines and dotted crotched movement (Ex. 10).

Although Antegnati considered himself to be essentially an amateur composer,⁷⁴ Missa Nasce la pena is a skilful

work, in a fresh, progressive idiom, using chiavi naturali in Choir I; C1, C3, C4, F4 and voci pari in Choir II; C3, C4, C4, F4. The detailed cross rhythm and quaver movement of the inner voices of the madrigal is disregarded by Antegnati for the sake of clarity, and the inherent antiphony within the six-voice model replaced by the clearer antiphonal distinction of separated choirs. The style in the Credo⁷⁵, apart from the imitative opening and the 'Crucifixus' section, is homophonic, with simple yet invigorating isometric cross-rhythm. The Credo movement parodies the model in only the first of its three sections:

<u>Credo</u>	<u>Madrigal</u>	<u>Analogy and treatment</u>
b.1-6	b.1-6	Melodic shape in differing order of imitation; initial dotted rhythm augmented
b.9-11	b.6-8	Cantus
b.11-12	b.8	Bassus and harmony
b.26-27	b.25-27	Altus and harmony
b.29-30	b.27-30	Altus; harmony; start of new phrase
b.31-32 & 50-52	b.30-32	Harmony

The musical realisation of the text is conventional, with longer note-values for 'et incarnatus est', low vocal registers for 'passus et sepultus', lively rhythm and octave leaps for 'et resurrexit' and imitative rising scales at 'et ascendit'. There is effective overlapping of the choirs at 'per quem omnia' and at 'et vitam venturi' to close the movement. A significant feature of the setting is the deliberate introduction of fifths progressions, as at 'et homo factus est'; Antegnati was using techniques in this mass which were still novel and untested by some composers in the 1580s.

The techniques used by Andrea Gabrieli in his 1587 setting of mass movements⁷⁶ show a breadth of musical imagination

and control of structure that had not been experienced before in North Italy, and which remained unsurpassed even by his nephew's stylistically developed 1597 setting. The exploitation of the threefold liturgical division of the Kyrie for purely musical effect, by accretion of extra vocal groups, from the five-voice Kyrie I, *Christe* for two four-voice choirs, Kyrie II for a further four-voice group, and the continuation of the cumulative effect in the Gloria set to four four-voice choirs is a deliberate and calculated procedure of organic growth. The seeming discrepancies of key area, clefs and range of the selections can be solved, as Carver suggests,⁷⁷ by the downward transposition of the *Christe* and Kyrie II (from G to D), in line with contemporary performance practice. Strong rhythmic motivation within each section is created by foreshortening both of note-values and choral dialogue. The Kyrie sections and the openings of the Gloria and Sanctus movements build gradually to tutti passages which are rarely rhythmically or textually transparent; choir-entries are deliberately displaced (e.g. 'Gratias agimus') resulting in intricate syncopation; the sequence of entry in the choral dialogue is constantly varied; at 'miserere' the low Choir IV is answered by the high-pitched Choir I; at 'in gloria' Choirs I and III in combination alternate with Choirs II and IV. The composer was also familiar with the acoustic properties of the San Marco basilica, and provides appropriate measured silences to give the tutti their full effect. The lack of a setting for the Credo and Agnus Dei is a virtue in the context of the architectural conception of the overall setting, and one which Giovanni was conscious of in his

1597 setting al2 of the same movements. He does not extend the structural scope of Andrea's concept⁷⁸, but, instead, contracts the resources. The cumulative effect of building towards a climax is not exploited to the same degree, and is strongest in Kyrie II, which adds an extra four-part choir to the eight-voice Kyrie I and Christe sections. Giovanni's interest lies more in the contrast of timbre between the first and second choirs with their implied instrumental support and the specified cappella group, and in the duet/dialogue implications in the Cantus lines of Choirs I and II. As in Andrea's setting, Giovanni's stylistic approach varies widely, much more so than in settings by provincial composers, who aim to be as stylistically uniform as possible; it is as if, as at the court-chapels of the region, the Procurators of San Marco expected some evidence of "academicism" as a demonstration of traditional religious earnestness, which would also explain Monteverdi's stile antico approach to the mass; Gabrieli's Christe begins in the manner of a Franco-Flemish motet, and the Sanctus with a more restrained, polyphonic working, more characteristic of central Italian discipline than of Venetian rhythmic exuberance. Local stylistic loyalties, however, outweigh the brief episodes of pastiche; the daringly-compressed block chordal antiphonal dialogue which opens the Gloria, the close canonic imitation at 'Jesu Christe' and the cumulative treatment of the energetic 'Domine Deus rex caelestis' phrase all bear the Venetian hallmark.

Other Venetian-based composers were less exuberant than the Gabrielis. Merulo, in Missa Benedicam Dominum al2 (1609; published posthumously) based on Andrea

Gabrieli's powerful motet of 1587, limits the range of the three Bassus lines to F, and curtails the model's rich sonority produced by complete triads in the bass parts⁷⁹ to combinations of unison, octave or fifth. Croce's 1596 masses a8 are less concerned with impressive cumulative effects than with creating cohesive, tightly-argued settings based on vigorously-rhythmic models; the parodies of his 1594 motet Percussit Saul and of Janequin's Bataille - still a popular model over 25 years after Asola had parodied it - are characterized by exciting antiphonal retorts (Ex. 11) and brittle syllabification. The structural use of triple-time sections in the masses⁸⁰ and the recreation of the ternary outline of the model in Missa Percussit Saul in particular are important features in creating balance and cohesion through formal rather than internally-generated means.⁸¹ In the Credo of Missa Percussit Saul the unruffled 'Et incarnatus' section acts as a foil to the rhythmic activity of the outer sections; the balance is enhanced by the reappearance of the distinctive harmonic excursion of bars 10-13 at bars 95-97, as well as by the return of the opening material at bar 57 and bar 68; the 'Amen' acts as a coda, creating excitement through rhythmic contraction, syncopation and close imitation. The following table gives a detailed breakdown of the treatment of the motives of the model:

<u>Motet</u>		<u>Credo</u>		<u>Analogy and treatment</u>
b.1-7	'Percussit Saul'	b.1-7	'Patrem omnipotentem'	Motet motive slightly smoothed out, and dramatic rising sixth confined to an inner part.

<u>Motet</u>		<u>Credo</u>		<u>Analogy & Treatment</u>
b.16-19	'Percussit Philistaeum'	b.10-13	'visibilium'	Rhythm altered; motive extended into temporary dominant area via B major harmony. The B flat of the mode is left unflattened in the transfer.
b.19-22	'et abstulit'	b.12-15	'Et in unum Dominum'	Isometric dotted crotchet rhythm omitted.
b.25-26	'de quo canebat'	b.15-17	'filium Dei'	Stops short of rising minor sixth, and substitutes a cadence.
b.23-26	'Nonne iste David ... dicentes'	b.18-21	'Et ex Patre ... saecula'	Loosely expanded.
b.23-26		b.37-40	'descendit de caelis'	Extension to the falling Cantus, and a transformation into a rich tutti.
		b.43-56	'Et incarnatus'	This section is unrelated to the model; its calm steady minim movement <u>a8</u> is motivated by a fifths progression.
b.1-7		b.57-61	'Crucifixus'	Note added to preface motive itself.
b.11-14	'quia manus'	b.65-67	'passus et sepultus'	Exploits the slow progression with exposed first inversion chord, and adds an emotive 9-8 suspension in Altus.
b.1-7		b.68-70	'Et resurrexit'	Only the motive's answer used.



<u>Motet</u>		<u>Credo</u>		<u>Analogy and treatment</u>
b.11-14		b.86-88	'Et iterum'	Rhythm more incisive than that of model.
b.7-9	'et David decem millia'	b.88-90	'cum gloria'	Rhythm slightly altered.
b.16-19		b.95-97	'Et in spiritum'	Same rhythm as at 'Et iterum' here the b in Bassus I is unflattened and the Altus has a g' sharp above.
b.11-14		b.100-102	'Qui cum Patre'	
b.16-19		b.106-107	'qui locutus est'	Abbreviated.
b.10	'decem'	b.112	'ecclesiam'	In Cantus I only.
b.16-19		b.113	'confiteor'	Abbreviated.
b.11-14		b.114-115	'unum Baptisma'	Contracted.
b.10		b.125-127	'Amen'	Passing reference in Cantus I which is developed imitatively to a climax on a' in Cantus I and II.

Polychoral mass composition continued to flourish in and around Milan during the last quarter of the 16th century. Mortaro - a Franciscan monk, active as a composer in Brescia, Novara and Milan at the turn of the century - preferred to write large-scale settings for the mass, and the 1599 twelve-voice parody of G.M. Nanino's five-voice madrigal Erano i capei d'oro first published in 1579, and republished in a Milanese anthology in 1607 with sacred words, is representative of his workmanlike, if rather predictable use of large forces in realising the potential

of the mass text. The model is rhythmically and harmonically subtle; it is most extensively parodied in the Kyrie which, unusually, is a specified da capo. The points of parody and their treatment are listed in the following table:⁸²

<u>Madrigal</u>	<u>Mass</u> <u>Kyrie</u>	<u>Analogy and treatment</u>
b.1-3 'Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi'	b.1-9 Choirs I-III	Most exact analogy in Choir II; exposed Cantus sharpened third is concealed in Tenor. Progression altered to move from initial tonic to cadence in dominant; model does not establish its tonic until bar 5.
b.18-20 petto havea'	b.3-6 Choir II	Rising quaver scale in Bassus.
b.1-3 'che l' esca amorosa al	b.6-9 Choir III	Restatement of Choir I material; inner voices exchanged at cadence.
b.3-6 'ch'en mille dolci nodi'	b.8-11 Choirs I-III	Bassus rising fourth from bar 3 of model; new dotted rhythm introduced.
b.7-9 'E'l vago lume oltra misura ardea'	b.12-14 Choirs I-III	Simple, direct dominant-tonic progression, repeated by sequence.
b.9-10 'Di quei begl' occhi'	b.14-16 Choirs I-II	Diverging outer voices
b.12-13 'E'l viso de pietosi'	b.17-23 Choir I-III	Quintus and Bassus combined with distinctive chromaticism of cadence formula.

Christe

b.21-22 'Qual mera- viglia'	b.30 Choir III	Falling Bassus; phrase made more solid by smoothing out the off-beat start.
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<u>Madrigal</u>		<u>Mass</u>		<u>Analogy & treatment</u>
b.15-17	'Non so se vero o falso me parea'	b.33-38	Choirs II-III	Distinctive step by a tone: the emphasis of 'Non so' works well at 'Christe'.
b.18-20	'sa al petto havea'	(b.40-41 (b.42-43	Choir I Choir II	Bassus falling fourth and rising scale.
b.32-33	'se di subito arsì'	b.47-49	Choirs I-II	Bassus angular line with initial cross- rhythm.
(a separate Kyrie II is not provided)				
<u>Gloria</u>				
b.1-3/19		b.47-49	Choir III	Progression and rising quaver scale in Bassus.
b.3-6		b.49-52	Choirs I-II	Both the rising fourth and rising octave are stated.
b.9-10		b.52-54		Dotted rhythm intro- duced at 'spiritu'.
<u>Credo</u>				
b.1-3		b.1-8	Choirs I-III	Rhythmic values now reduced.
b.5-6		b.8-9	Choir I	Bassus leap reproduce
b.12-14		b.23-25	Choir II	Transposed.
b.1-2		b.41-43)	The 'Crucifixus' <u>a4</u> relies heavily on the motives of the model, in their original order.
b.3-5		b.43-44)	
b.7-9		b.45-46)	
b.9-14		b.46-51)	
b.32-33		b.96-97	Choir I	
<u>Sanctus</u>				
b.3-5		b.14-17	Choirs I-III	Bass-line with added dotted rhythm.
b.1-3		b.20-22	Choir II	Added initial rising fourth or octave.
		('Benedictus')		
b.12-14		b.22-24	Choirs I, III	

<u>Madrigal</u>	<u>Mass</u>	<u>Analogy & treatment</u>
	<u>Agnus Dei</u>	
b.1-3	b.1-4	Choir I
b.1-3	b.7-9	Choir III
b.32-33	b.9-12 ('dona nobis pacem')	The analogy with the closing motive of <u>Pars I</u> of the model is appropriate.

Mortaro reshapes the initial progression of the model, which does not establish its tonic until the fifth bar, to establish a swift modulation from the tonic base to the dominant, and dispenses with some of Nanino's attractive duet and trio textures. Although the model is drawn on extensively for statements by individual choirs, the tutti are motivated mostly by original inner syncopation and by strong fifths progressions. The Gloria exploits the pictorial nature of the mass text with minimal reference to the model; the calm of the opening phrase a4 is shattered by the entry of Choirs I and III at 'Laudamus te' - the three choirs then competing as groups of worshippers in close antiphonal exchanges, a technique which creates considerable excitement at the close by increasingly-compressed entries at 'Cum sancto spiritu, in gloria Patris' (bars 52-58). Mortaro exploits the polychoral canonic effect in the Credo at 'Et incarnatus', and, perhaps punningly, restates material from the Gloria ('Et iterum ... gloria' = Gloria, bars 1-4). Harmonic colouring is well-handled; the B flat harmony of 'suscipe' in the Gloria is repeated imploringly by each choir in turn, and 'miserere nobis' is coloured by an E flat harmony with a jarring 4-3 suspension, heard against its resolution in the second Cantus I.

The Sanctus and Agnus Dei are not sectionalized, and

the Agnus is only 15 bars in length; this compression recurs in Mortaro's later masses, and Missa Non ti sdegnar O Filii (1610) has no sectional breaks in any movement except the Kyrie; the compression of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei was an early 17th century Venetian characteristic which allowed for performance of instrumental items at the Elevation and at the Communion. Mortaro's mass publication of 1606 is interesting in the scoring for two unequal choirs a4 and a5, an influence from Colombano's a9 psalms of 1587, which, with the Missa Non ti sdegnar O Filii a13 of 1610 anticipate the unequal groupings of the new concertato mass of the early 17th century.

At the close of the 16th century, therefore, developments in the musical realisation of the mass-text contained the seeds which were to flower in the 17th century "orchestral" mass. Instrumental participation on feast-days and for special ceremonies in Venice for, for example, Andrea Gabrieli's setting of the mass movements would have resulted in an aural experience which was far closer to the concertato idiom than to the style of the majority of contemporary single-choir motet-parodies. In surveying the developments in the setting of the mass-text, the 1587 and 1597 mass movements of the Gabrielis have to be considered the most brilliant and most unpredictable contribution of the 16th century, but, considering the traditions of ecclesiastical ostentation and liturgical laissez-faire which were a feature of Venice itself, and San Marco in particular, it is more likely that the movements were thought of more as motet-settings with minimal regard for liturgical propriety, in much the same manner as Monteverdi's isolated concertato

Gloria movement; it is perhaps significant that the Credo which represents the core of the devotional celebration of the mass is omitted in all three cases. Whilst not creating new techniques as such for motivating the mass setting, Andrea Gabrieli used them with the sort of mastery which made composers throughout the region take notice and imitate - though with varying degrees of success; thus, by the turn of the century, fifths progressions at *tuttis*, rhythmic foreshortening and contrast of choir tessitura had become a sine qua non in the ambitious provincial composer's technical repertoire. It is far more likely that Andrea was influenced in his techniques by stylistic developments in Milan in the 1560s and 1570s than by the, by then, historically distant exemplar of Ruffino's double-choir mass. Recent research into Andrea's date of birth suggests that he may have learnt directly from Ruffo during the latter's tenure of the post of maestro di cappella at the Cathedral in Verona.⁸³ Ruffo had experimented with the fifths progression to build longer phrases and to create a feeling of climax, and Antegnati's double-choir setting borrowed from Ruffo's initiatives almost a decade before Andrea's pièce de résistance. Although the "reform" style itself waned as a genre, its successors - the brevis and sine nomine types - carried forward the tradition of experimentation. The paraphrase persisted in a sporadic fashion, but the parody genre continued to thrive; ironically, the early 17th century saw fresh stile antico parodies, to satisfy consumer reaction against the onrush of new musical procedures.

CHAPTER IV

SETTINGS OF THE MAGNIFICAT AND PSALMS

It was in the area of psalm composition that the genius of the North Italian composers flourished most productively. In other areas, the psalms for the Offices of Vespers, Compline and Terce were, for the most part, sung in plainchant. In North Italy, however, the production of Vespers psalms equalled that of motets, and there was provision, though on a much smaller scale, of measured music for Compline and Terce. It was a regional tradition which at once reflected the importance of the role of music in the adornment of the liturgy and fostered new structural and descriptive techniques which in turn influenced the development of the motet. The influence of the Council of Trent was even more widely felt in psalm composition than in mass composition, and the style of "musica ... dolce e devota", which is how Ruffo describes that of his 1574 Salmi suavissimi, is precisely that which contains the germs of the "dolcezza dilettevole" which is so intrinsic a feature of the affective sacred style of the early 17th century.

The North Italian love of metaphor and colour is realised in the pictorial and dramatic potential of the often vivid psalm-texts; the demand for simple and clear settings in the region according to Tridentine principles also produced novel techniques of composition such as falsobordone which, with the local talent for adaptation, quickly became an important structural device in setting the longer texts. The contrast between the styles of North and Central Italy is exemplified in the 1592 Vespers

anthology edited by Asola which is intended as a sign of homage to Palestrina, and largely uncharacteristic of the North Italian idiom in its emphasis on academic contrapuntal display and on close adherence to the plainchant; the majority of composers featured are from North Italy, with Asola himself the major contributor, but the style of settings is self-consciously conservative, with the exception of Colombano's In exitu which has vigorous syllabic sequences (Ex. 1): the psalms are not through-composed, and canon occurs frequently in the 'Sicut erat' verse of the doxology (e.g. Asola, Memento Domine; Pontio, Laudate pueri; Lauro, Laudate Dominum omnes gentes; Croce, Laetatus sum; Corona, Beati omnes. Asola's Magnificat primi toni¹ is an exercise in conservative imitative style; the tone is stated in verse 2 in long notes in loose imitation between the Cantus and Bassus, in verse 4 in a concise four-note paraphrase of the incipit, in verse 8 as a Tenor cantus firmus, and in verse 12 as a canon between the Cantus and Quintus. Milanese Vespers settings are rare, and less adventurous than those produced in the Venetian Republic; Gratiani's 1587 Vespers psalms a4 are predominantly imitative with the exception of the strictly homophonic verse 3 of Beatus vir.

In other regional centres outside the boundaries of the Republic, composers treated the psalms in a thoroughly modern idiom; at Mantua, Gastoldi and Viadana adopted an almost madrigalian manner, with detailed painting of the text, and modern rhythmic and sequential techniques; in Bologna, normally regarded as an outpost of the conservative Roman idiom, Cortellini uses in his 1595 psalms a6 the

modern vocal and instrumental Venetian idioms of Merulo and the Gabriellis, exploiting contrasts of colour and texture with flair and confidence, as we shall see in the Magnificat setting.²

(i) Settings of the Magnificat for single choir

The Magnificat was traditionally regarded as a medium for stricter contrapuntal development in single-choir settings, even in the Venetian terraferma, although by the last decade of the 16th century the distinction had been largely eroded, and in some cases reversed, in the ebullient polychoral settings. Pontio stipulates that, in a psalm, "the pauses between successive entries of the subject may not exceed the value of a semibreve or a breve", and that the "subject must be made with few notes", but that, in a Magnificat, a more learned style ("più dotto stile") is expected, and that entries of the subject can "follow each other after a space of up to four breves".³ Whilst Pontio's observations are based on single-choir settings of around 1550, and largely disregard the double-choir idiom, the general comparison is still valid for single-choir settings by later generations of composers; Cavaccio's Magnificats a4 of 1581 and 1582, for example, are firmly grounded in the prima prattica, with canonic devices in the doxologies, and Gastoldi's 1602 and 1607 Magnificat settings are more conservative in style than the accompanying psalms. The most widespread manner of Magnificat composition was that of setting the even-numbered verses, to produce a climactic close with a polyphonic, rather than a monophonic, verse⁴; the verses

could also be through-composed, although the 'Magnificat' intonation would still normally remain in plainchant; polychoral examples towards the close of the century, however, tended to incorporate it into the body of the setting.⁵

The choice of setting even- or odd-numbered verses in polyphony would seem to result from locally applied liturgical practice⁶; composers often supplied interlocking sets to widen the potential market of the volume, as in Asola's twin publication of 1578, and Cavaccio's companion publications of 1581 and 1582. Asola was the most fecund composer of sets of Vespers psalms with one or more accompanying Magnificats; between 1571 and 1602 he had ten new sets published, as well as ten reissues.⁷

The distribution of settings by composers working in or near Milan followed for the most part the Roman, and not the Venetian terraferma, trend; the Magnificat settings appeared in groups corresponding to the eight tones, or, more rarely, combined with settings of the mass or of motets (e.g. Ruffo, 1578; Varotto, 1579; Pontio, 1584; Gabussi, 1589; Scarabelli, 1597; Stivori, 1598; Orfeo Vecchi, 1603); paired sets of Vespers psalms and Magnificats by composers working in Milan are very rare (e.g. Gratiani, 1587). Self-contained Magnificat publications by composers working further to the east or in the Republic itself were far outnumbered by the paired sets, which normally supplied either one setting of the Magnificat, or two in contrasting styles suitable for the solemnity of the liturgical occasion. Thus, Asola's 1576 Vespers a6 includes two Magnificats, one a setting of alternate verses, the other through-composed⁸; Isnardi supplies three Magnificats

in his 1569 volume a4 of which the primi toni setting is able to be performed in voci pari disposition, by simply transposing the Cantus down an octave and treating it as an inner voice.

The plainchant is stated more literally in the Magnificat for single choir than in the psalm-settings; even in Croce's Magnificats a6 of 1605, we find close, compact paraphrasing of the plainchant, despite the modernity of the style, with antiphony between the upper and lower three-voice groupings, bright crotchet writing, and duet-with-bass texture in the 'Esurientes' verse a3 in the secundi toni setting, where the decorated Cantus and Sextus lines move in parallel thirds (Ex. 2). The plainchant is also strongly stated in Ruffo's 1578 Magnificats a5 and in Pontio's 1584 Magnificats a4. In Ruffo's Magnificats, the Cantus line has an almost lyrical melodic character which justifies the description of the settings as "aierosi" in the title of the publication; Ruffo's individuality comes through most strongly in the syllabic setting sexti toni, where his triadic "fingerprint" appears most frequently, most often in the Cantus, both at cadences (Ex. 3, where the jaunty phrase is repeated for effect) and in the course of a phrase. In the latter publication Pontio includes two settings a5 which are, by contrast to the a4 settings, through-composed. It is interesting to see what extra challenges the continuous setting posed;⁹ Pontio succeeds in maintaining interest and variety by constantly changing the vocal disposition and often underpinning the tutti passages with fifths progression. He makes a determined effort to enliven the predominant minim movement with bursts of crotchet interruption and syncopation (e.g. bars 11-12, 25-26), and varies the cadence-

degrees, as in the shift to B flat for the cadence to close verse 5 (bars 29-30), and to the dominant of the dominant at the closing cadence of verse 7.

Mainerio's set of Magnificats a4 of 1574 feature a remarkable contrast of styles, which reflects at once the association of the Magnificat with contrapuntal working and the strong secular influence of his vocal and instrumental balli a4; the result is a series of settings which combine contrapuntal skill with well-defined tonal leanings. In the eight-voice doxology of the Magnificat secundi toni, for example, there are simultaneous canons between the two Bassus and two Cantus parts, whilst the settings on the fifth and sixth tones are based respectively on "la Battaglia Italiana" and "la Battaglia Francese" and are obviously representative of the contemporary vogue for battle-pieces. The Magnificat may seem to be an unlikely vehicle for guerra metaphors, and in the setting quinti toni the more warlike verses are ironically omitted.¹⁰ Mainerio does use the guerra style in the syllabic quaver treatment of 'generati(ones)' and in the dramatic antiphonal writing in which the lower and upper voices are locked in a combative sequence of ostinato pair-imitation (bars 11-20, 39-47, 61-65). The outline of the fifth tone intonation instigates a strong tonal bias, which is reinforced by arpeggiated patterns (bars 30-31) and exultant octave leaps (bar 21). The influence of the balli is strongest in the isometric syncopations of the triple-time sections (e.g. bars 90-94), the ostinato "drum-beat" patterns (Tenor, bars 112-5; Bassus, bars 116-121), the exultant sequences of the Cantus line (bars 112-5), the unconvincing text

underlay (Cantus, bars 66-70) and the wide use of compressed angular ostinato motives (Tenor, bars 67-8).

Mainerio's ear for spacing in the six-voice textures of the Gloria verse is matched by that of Cortellini, active as musician and violinist at the Signoria in Bologna, in his 1595 Magnificat a6¹¹. Cortellini favours internal antiphony between groups of four rather than of three voices; his favoured paired grouping is presented at the opening - C, Sex., A, Q answered by Sex., A, T, B - and recurs at bar 14 and in the doxology (bar 56), where C, Sex., A, Q is answered in turn by A, T, Q, B and Sex., T, Q, B in close incisive exchanges; the sequence at 'a progenie' produces a texturally kaleidoscopic effect. As a violinist, Cortellini gives the canzona rhythm considerable emphasis, and there is much detailed isometric syncopation. The harmonic framework is very strong, despite the quick progress through different cadence-degrees at the opening; here the G minor area of the opening phrase gives way to a cadence in the dominant (bars 5-6), to a phrase in B flat (bars 7-9), to F major at bar 13, and C major at bar 14, after which these keys are reintroduced in a continuation of the tight harmonic argument. With such a strong harmonic framework, textually-generated harmonic colouring is rare. The setting is typical of the change in emphasis in Magnificat settings away from ostensibly plainchant-dominated procedure to a rhythmic and harmonically-motivated structure in which the tone is present only in a fragmented and disguised form.

(ii) Settings of Vespers psalms for single choir

The North Italian vogue for setting Vespers psalms gathered momentum in the late 1560s as a direct result of the stylistic parameters introduced by the Council of Trent. It was the combination of the vivid pictorialism inherent in the texts, the verse-structure itself, and the security of the pre-existent psalm-tone which encouraged composers of varying abilities to produce settings. The response of composers to the new genre demonstrates considerable variety of approach. Isnardi's two sets of Vespers psalms of 1569, one a4 and one a5, are in the simple, predominantly isometric post-Tridentine idiom. Domine probasti a5 is a typical example of the emergent small-scale setting; each verse-setting retains the medial spatial division of the plainsong by the insertion of a minim rest, which obeys the stipulations of the Concilium Ravennatense of the previous year for a break in the middle of the psalm-verse; thus the first hemistich closes with a semibreve chord and the second hemistich follows on the last minim of the bar except in verse 21 where the Tenor bridges the gap with a figure imitated by the Bassus; the style of the psalm is direct and chordal, with angular Bassus movement, and effective word-painting sustaining interest in the long text, as in the pointed contrast of loose counterpoint and firm chordal writing to represent the inherent juxtaposition of moral states at verse 23 (Ex. 4). The four-voice setting of the same text is less adventurous in its musical description (e.g. a scalic rising fifth at 'si ascendero' and a melisma at 'via').

Pratoneri's 1569 Vespers psalms a6 are stylistically

more advanced than Isnardi's in being through-composed, with monotonic rhythmic interest - instrumental in character - and inner antiphony. Such was their comparative modernity that the set was reissued twenty years later, with four extra psalms. There are frequent impressive tutti openings in canzona rhythm, and varied progressive features in individual psalms; tonal feeling is strong in Laetatus sum and Dixit Dominus; Bassus phrases are very concise and angular in Beatus vir and in Dixit Dominus. Ruffo's 1574 Salmi suavissimi et devotissimi a5 set alternate verses, in a direct style, with minimal use of melisma even in sections for reduced voices. There are strong similarities to the compositional techniques of the masses, including the tendency to overuse melodic clichés such as the falling fourth with quaver passing notes (Confitebor¹²; bars 3, 6 and 17) and the very frequent cadential suspension in similar rhythm. The Bassus lines are wide-ranging (a 12th in Confitebor) and provide a strong harmonic support. The initial measured hemistich of the psalm is invariably set as a tutti, with cross-rhythm and constantly shifting harmonies often based on fifths progressions to provide mobility (e.g. Beatus vir (Ex. 5), Laudate pueri, Credidi); the remaining verses are frequently based on compressed imitation of the psalm-tone.

Asola's position as the foremost composer of music for Vespers is well-deserved in that no other composer produced such a large (and often-reprinted) corpus of Vespers settings for such a wide range of forces and styles - from three-voice settings of alternate verses, through four-voice falsibordoni, to twelve-voice through-composed settings.

His essentially functional approach is exemplified by the two complementary sets a4 of 1578, and the two sets a3 of 1599. Each, though for a separate choir, is a self-contained set of music for the alternate verses of the psalms; the settings can therefore be performed either as "versi senza riposte", or, in combination, as "verse con le sue riposte".¹³ The former option seems to have been more popular in the case of the 1578 psalms, as the Choir I volume had five reprintings as against Choir II's one. The style is restrained, although there is some incisive rhythmic and pictorial writing.

The contrast in styles of composition within the Republic is neatly illustrated by a brief comparison of three almost contemporary publications - the 1576 Vespers psalms a5 of Pasquali, the set of 1578 by Flaviano Rossi, and Corona's 1579 collection a6. The first is expansive and rhythmically loose; the second setting of Dixit Dominus, for example, for use at Marian feasts, has an essentially linear compositional approach, except in the lively triple time doxology verse. Rossi's psalms a4 are set in a modern Humanistic idiom, with predominant isometric writing and adventurous chromatic exploration¹⁴; rhythmic interest in De profundis¹⁵ for example is totally subservient to harmonic subtlety, as at the opening to verse 5 where harmonies of B major and F sharp major (each with notated accidentals) are explored. The setting displays considerable variety and skilful musical judgement, and vertical compositional procedure is evident from the rich 6/5/3 chord (bar 24) and the polarized Cantus and Bassus of verse 7. The last set is also stylistically progressive for its date, but in a more rhythmic direction,

featuring vigorous chordal writing and frequent exploitation of the antiphonal potential of the vocal resources; in Laetatus sum¹⁶, for example, inner antiphonal exchange and quickly-shifting harmonic centres provide an arresting opening to the piece; each phrase is motivated either by internal musical development, as in the rhythmic imitation of bars 11-12, or by textual imagery, as in the gentle rising Cantus phrase at 'ascenderunt' (bar 19), the earnest exhortation of 'Rogate', realised by a repeated 7-6 suspension (bars 28-36), and the suddenly slowed rate of harmonic change at 'pacem de te' (bars 55-56). Corona is prepared to treat the psalm-tone more flexibly, extending and chromatically altering the initium in the Cantus, and substituting a dominant terminatio at bars 32-33 to afford more contrast to the subsequent expressive E flat.

Colombano represents the North Italian composer/maestro at his most typical, moving within the region from post to post and producing fresh, vigorous music for the liturgy tailored both to the needs of that particular ecclesiastical establishment and to the capabilities and resources of the cappella under his direction. He specialized in psalm and Magnificat composition to the virtual exclusion of other genres; of his eight extant sacred collections, all but two are devoted to these categories. His first publication, a set of Vespers psalms for six voices of 1579, is in a conservative idiom. It is in the five-voice Vespers psalms of 1584 that his distinctive musical style of florid scalic writing and close - almost naive - attention to the pictorial potential of the psalm texts matures. The setting of In convertendo is a typical example¹⁷;

the measured setting opens with close imitation between Cantus and Bassus, based on a scalic fifth; at 'torrens' the extended pictorial melismatic treatment works towards an effective climax on the Cantus g' of bar 33. Amidst the exuberance, the psalm-tone is preserved in either the Tenor or Quintus.

Like the initial Vespers set of Colombano, Gastoldi's first collection of Vespers psalms, for four voices, published in 1588, is restrained in style, with prevalent minim movement and extensive crotchet decoration, and self-consciously refers in the preface to his lack of confidence in the genre.¹⁸ The 1592 Vespers psalms a5 need no such apology; the style is confident and progressive, with a freshness and lightness of touch which - to judge from the seven reprintings - its intended public found very appealing. Only the longer psalms are sectional, as by this time composers were becoming aware of the structural possibilities of falsobordone insertions; here they are an integral part of the formal design with no sectional separation from adjacent verses. Moreover, Gastoldi is quick to exploit the element of formal balance implicit in the psalm-text; thus, in Credidi¹⁹, the identical openings of verses 5 and 8 are realised almost exactly in the music, in a slightly altered vocal disposition (bars 28-34, 54-61). The setting of this psalm is typical of Gastoldi's assured and imaginative mature style; the approach is largely chordal, with accidentals and 6/3 chords used to give a strong sense of harmonic direction (e.g. bars 1, 10, 29). Brief incisive imitative points are introduced for variety (e.g. bars 9-10, 13-14, 21-23, 28-29, 34-35, 61-62), and tuttis are enlivened by

imaginative part-writing (e.g. bars 26-27, where the Bassus rising scale figure is complemented by that in the Quintus). Falsobordone is used in the 1602 set a5 to lend dramatic as well as structural force to the text (e.g. bars 29-35 of Dixit Dominus²⁰). The sense of drama is heightened by the voice-leading of bar 9 which supplements the combative force of 'inimicorum' by sparring imitative rhythm. The handling of the five voices is very skilful, and shows the influence of Gastoldi's balletti; the Bassus is often angular and wide-leaping (e.g. 'in aeternum secundum', bars 24-25), which is a characteristic continued in the 1607 psalms a6. The modern, compact harmonic progressions are complemented by tight rhythmic statement (e.g. vigorous syncopation and hemiola in bars 9-10, 12-13, 19, 37-38, 41-42). Viadana's 1597 publication shares many of the same features as Gastoldi's settings; falsobordone is used as an integral feature, and can likewise be a very dramatic ingredient in effective word-painting (e.g. Ex. 6, where the static breathing of the Spirit is vividly contrasted with the activity of the waters in motion); the style is very succinct and often rigidly homophonic (Ex. 7), without the same degree of rhythmic skill, however, as shown by Gastoldi. The musical imagery is even more prominent as a result, even if the reservata treatment of the phrase 'nebulam sicut cinerem', where the reference to 'ashes' is made in black notation, to contrast with the white notation used for 'snow', would entertain the performers more readily than the congregation.

The detailed and often punning representation of phrases of the psalm text is a continuing trend which, in the early

17th century, results in a fragmentation of treatment of individual phrases and a tendency to reintroduce sectionalization into the settings. Such is the case in Ratti's 1605 Brevi salmi a5; Confitebor tibi²¹ is, for example, far more stylized in its treatment of the text than that of settings of twenty years earlier; the evocative tertial shift to E at 'adorabo' (bar 8) detracts rather than enhances the balance of the opening 12-bar section, and indicates the temptation to which composers could succumb of highlighting their favourite descriptive techniques at the expense of the setting as a whole (the device recurs at bars 52 and 65-6). Some of Ratti's harmonic progressions again point to a slightly unsure grasp of technique; at bar 61 there is a curious cadential juxtaposition of E major and D major harmonies linked by a passing note c' in the Cantus, and at bar 81 there is an exposed 6/4 chord on the first beat, with no logical resolution. The presence of falsobordone insertions is at this date no longer a sign of pioneering structural or dramatic novelty, and one suspects that Ratti is overusing them, like the anachronistic acknowledgement to Tridentine principles in the preface, as a substitute for more original musical development.

This is not to suggest that the technique of falsobordone was weak; on the contrary, we have seen how Gastoldi and Viadana used it to effect in psalm settings for single choir. The characteristic properties of smooth recitation and direct, plain statement were in fact frequently employed from the late 1580s as a structural and pictorial device in a progressive context, both in Vespers psalms and Magnificats and in double-choir as well as single-choir settings:

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Psalm/Magnificat</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Details</u>
Colombano	Domine probasti	9	1587	At verse 13 (measured recitation).
Gastoldi	Credidi	5	1592	At verse 7; no sectional separation.
Orazio Vecchi	Magnificat tertii toni	5)		
Massaino	Domine probasti	5)))	1596	22 Extensively used, not always in paired halves, e.g. 'Imperfectum meum'.
Quintiani	Credidi ego autem	5)		At 'Vota mea ...'
Scarabelli	Magnificats	6 & 8	1597	As contrast to the contrapuntal idiom
Viadana	Lauda Hierusalem	5	1597	Pictorial
Mortaro	(Magnificat I	8)	1599	
	(Domine probasti	8)		
	(Memento Domine	8)		
Massaino	Magnificat primi & secundi toni	8)	1600	23 'Sicut erat'
Viadana	Magnificat primi toni	5)		'Et misericordiae'
Gastoldi	Lauda Hierusalem	8	1601	
Gastoldi	Dixit Dominus	5	1602	Pictorial
Ratti	Confitebor tibi	5	1605	Five sections in <u>falsobordone</u>

(iii) Falsobordone technique

It may be useful at this point to examine the characteristics and derivation of the technique which, like several other new ideas adopted by North Italian composers, emerged from the deliberations of the Council of Trent. Falsobordone is, in effect, a simple harmonization of the psalm-tone, mostly for four voices, less frequently for five or more voices; the reciting-note is represented either by a succession of semibreves on a monotone (e.g. Asola, 1575) or by a longa (e.g. Isnardi, 1585): the resolution of each half of the psalm-tone breaks into a free, measured style, often

with crotchet melisma. Theories of the origin and meanings of the term are various. A contemporary Italian-English dictionary - John Florio's A Worlde of Wordes, published in 1598 - does, however, give specific meanings of bordone: "a staffe, a bat ... a sound, a noise, a tennor or keeping of time in musicke, the burden of any song"; the 1659 revision alters the description slightly, but retains its significance: "the burden of a song; also the keeping of due time in musick". If by bordone the lexicographer implied a measured beat, it is logical to suggest that falsobordone implied the lack of a measured beat, such as occurs in the "pause-notes" of the psalm-verse.

Like its namesakes, the Spanish fabordón and the French fauxbourdon, it was essentially improvisatory in origin and subsequent character, and the extant codified versions in published form must represent only a small percentage of falsobordone practice current during the late 16th century; sets of falsibordoni on the eight tones and the pellegrino tone were published either as self-contained volumes, or as appendices to measured settings. The technique was especially popular in Milan: Bradshaw draws attention to the presence in or around this centre of Borromeo's reforming influence of a number of composers of falsibordoni.²⁴ Its popularity there was a significant influence in its dissemination into the psalmody of North Italy, and suggests that the city was an efficient entrepôt for what musical evidence would appear to suggest was a genuine French, rather than a native Italian, technique.²⁵ The impetus for its popularity came from the Council of Trent and the recommendations of the regional implementing bodies: one

such, the Concilium Ravennatense of 1568, specifically required that the music be concordant, that a pause be made in the middle of each verse of the psalm to distinguish sections, and that singers should not wander from the pitch and modulation of the part²⁶; these stipulations were realised most fully in the falsobordone idiom.

It is hardly surprising that such a strong exponent of the Tridentine utilitarian principles as Asola should have left settings in falsobordone - in the 1573 Compline collection a6 and, with the help of Ruffo, the self-contained Falsi Bordoni per cantar salmi a4 of 1575. The 1575 falsibordoni, of which there are four settings to each tone, are wordless; Asola's dedication expresses with obvious enthusiasm the practical benefits of the genre to the liturgy, eliciting a comfortable manner of performance and pleasant tone from the singers, and bringing cheerful satisfaction to the listeners in church.²⁷ Asola's 1575 collection was popular, and had five subsequent (extant) reprintings, including a revision in 1584 which incorporated litanies and a Lauda Sion for processional use.

Isnardi's self-contained Vespers falsibordoni a4 of 1585 would seem to be directed primarily at institutions without professional singers and instrumentalists.²⁸ Isnardi had included schematic wordless falsibordoni in the 1569 Vespers psalms a5; the 1585 falsibordoni however are the first to be provided with specific textual underlay (see Plate V). The verses are therefore individually set, with detailed musical realization of the verbal rhythm at the close of each hemistich, and feature two alternating harmonic formulas. The commercially-astute printer, Giacomo Vincenzi,

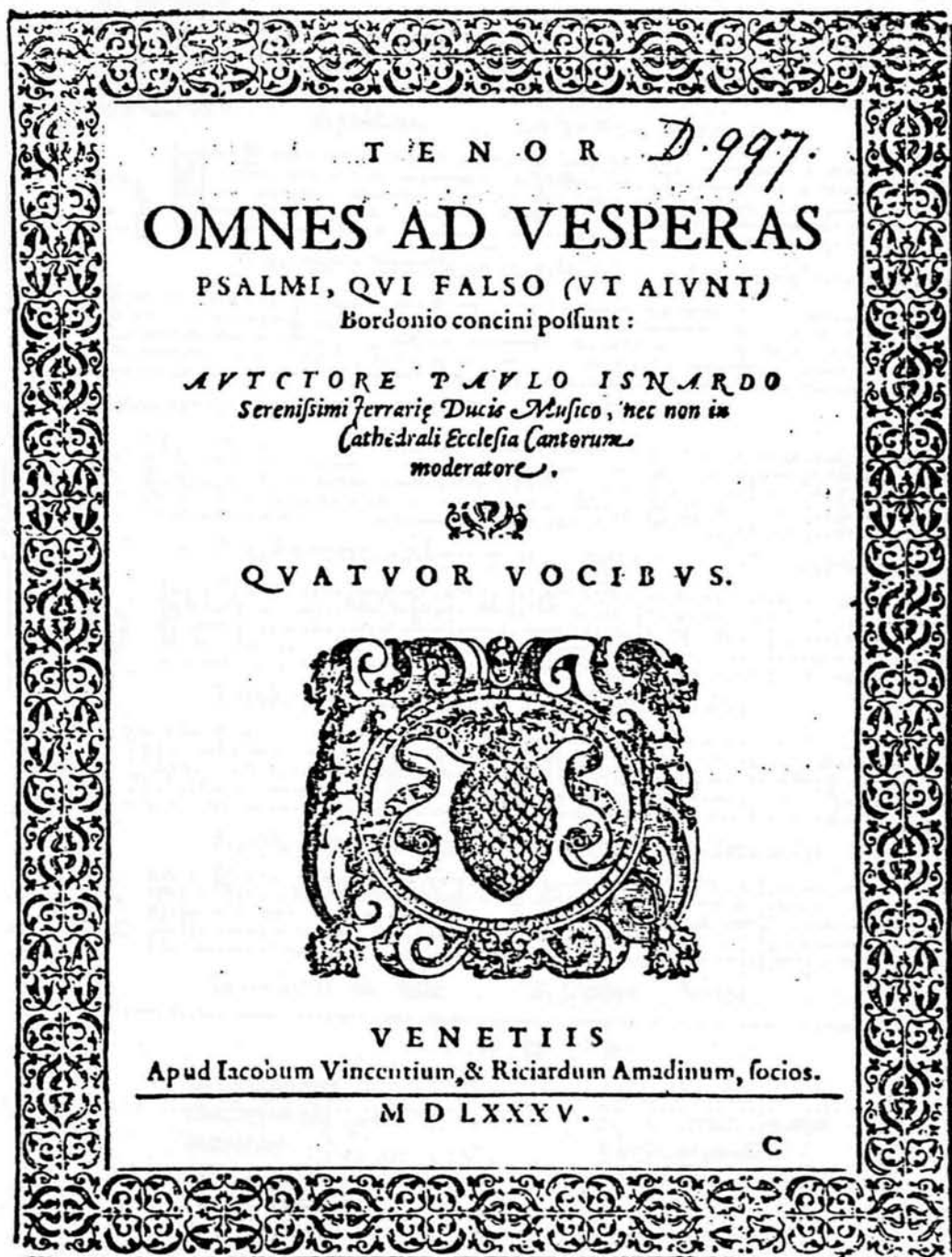


Plate IV: Title-page of Isnardi's Omnes ad
vesperas psalmi..., 1585.



Sexti Toni..

14

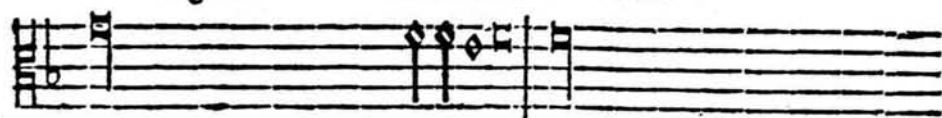
TENOR



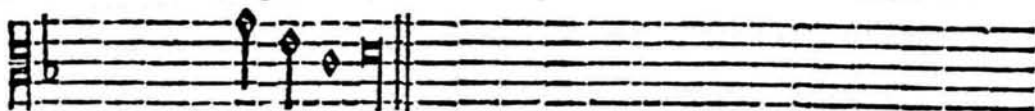
Magnificat.

Anima mea dominum.

Q

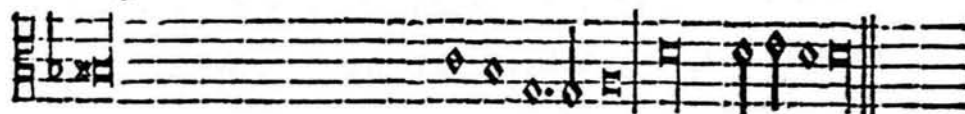


Via respexit humilitatem ancilę suę: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me di-



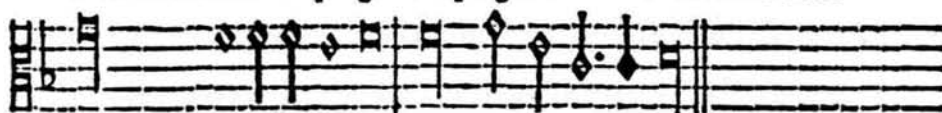
cent omnes generationes.

E



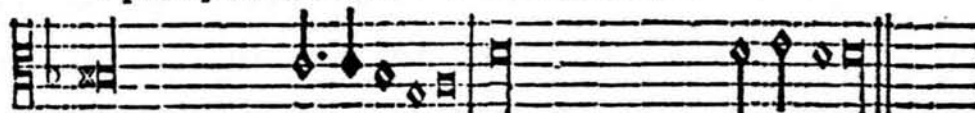
T misericordia eius à progenie in progenies timentibus eum.

D



Epofuit potentes de fede & exaltauit humiles.

S



Vfcepit Ifrael puerum suum: recordatus misericordię suę:

G



Loria patri & filio & spiritui fancto.

I N D E X.

<i>Dixit Dominus</i>	1	<i>Lauda Ierusalem</i>	7
<i>Confitebor tibi</i>	2	<i>In conuertendo dominus</i>	9
<i>Beatus uir</i>	3	<i>Domine probasti me</i>	9
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	4	<i>Beati omnes</i>	11
<i>Laudate dominum</i>	4	<i>De profundis</i>	12
<i>In exitu Ifrael</i>	5	<i>Memento domine</i>	12
<i>Letatus sum</i>	6	<i>Magnificat</i>	14
<i>Nisi dominus</i>	7		

Plate V: Page 14 of the Tenor part-book of
 Isnardi's *Omnes ad vespervas psalmi...*, 1585,
 showing the printed underlay to the falsobordone
 formulas.

provides the dedication instead of the composer,²⁹ and stresses the comparative novelty of Isnardi's settings: "composti con nova maniera di consonanza, over come dicono falso bordone."³⁰

Sets of falsibordoni which supplement the measured settings are contained in: Colombano's 1585 Compline psalms a5, Croce's 1591 Compline psalms a8, Belli's 1596 Vespers psalms a8, Viadana's 1597 Vespers psalms a5, and Mortaro's 1599 composite publication of masses, Vespers psalms, motets and Magnificats a12.

The provision of schematic settings in falsobordone for Compline is an indication of the importance of the Office in the region. With the exception of Asola's steady flow of publications, Baccusi's publication of 1575 and Colombano's of 1585, measured settings for Compline began to appear regularly only in the last years of the century. The style of Asola's settings is restrained; example 8 illustrates one of the more animated sections of the 1583 set, its strong sense of movement being enhanced by subtle cross-rhythm and clear, simple homophonic writing. The wider interest in the 1590s in settings for Compline maintained its momentum until the 1640s.

(iv) Settings a coro spezzato

The antiphonal nature of liturgical performance of the psalm and Magnificat, which is recreated in sectional measured or falsobordone settings, whether "a versi senza riposte" or "a versi con le sue riposte", was likewise the inspiration for through-composed settings for a divided choir. It would not be particularly helpful at this juncture

to continue the debate on the exact definition of the term and the manner of performance of the earlier examples of spezzato psalms.³¹ The significance of the spezzato technique, in view of the achievements of composers of polychoral psalms and Magnificats later in the 16th century, is that it flowered within the confines of the Venetian terraferma through connections, concordances and master-pupil links between the North Italian cities of Padua, Treviso, Udine and Bergamo, and that the tradition was ably continued by post-Tridentine composers: Chamaterò had worked in Padua, Treviso and Udine by the time his Salmi corista a8 were published in 1573. In fact, Willaert's use of the spezzato technique is comparatively inflexible in relation to examples of the genre by later native North Italians.³²

The composers of spezzato psalms in the 1570s were quick to justify polychoral settings on the grounds that they fulfilled the Tridentine requirements by making the texts intelligible through the predominantly chordal idiom, and by being based on the psalm-tone. Chamaterò's 1573 psalms are styled as having been composed "secondo l'ordine del Concilio di Trento", although the performance of these festal psalms incorporated instrumental accompaniment,³³ and specifically emphasise the intelligibility despite the eight-voice scoring.³⁴ Asola's preface to the 1574 psalms, like Chamaterò's 1573 dedication, reconciles the polychoral idiom with the devout aims of Trent; Asola implies that the psalms have been designed to turn the attentions of congregations from secularity to pious Tridentine practices³⁵, by supplying substantial and impressive

musical textures in settings of liturgical texts which, rendered by voices and all kinds of instruments, simulate a "heavenly concerto".³⁶ Asola's 1587 Vespers psalms again reinforce the intention of providing pleasing effects for the enjoyment of both singers and congregations.³⁷ The moral force and universal appeal of psalm-settings is stressed in the Preface to the 1590 composite publication.³⁸ This coupling of the concepts of sheer aural enjoyment and spiritual edification is a theme which pervades the period; Gastoldi refers to these qualities in the preface to his 1601 Vespers psalms.³⁹

The treatment of the verse structure of the psalm and Magnificat and of the psalm-tone alters towards the close of the century. In Chamaterò's impressive and original Magnificat a9 of 1575, the structure of the canticle is nevertheless maintained by the settings punctuated cadences.⁴⁰ Later settings of the richly-pictorial psalm- and Magnificat-texts often subjugate the antiphonal verse-structure to musical effect, and approach the freedom and subjectivity of the motet. In Colombano's Domine probasti of 1587, for example, Choir I generally states the first hemistich and Choir II the second, but the approach is flexible and allows for tutti statements and close antiphonal treatment. The psalm-tone is often paraphrased most prominently in the Cantus line rather than the Tenor or Quintus; composers are however prepared to experiment, especially in the longer psalms, and Asola's Domine probasti of 1574 - rhythmically the most progressive setting of the publication - carries the plainsong cantus firmus in both Bassus lines beneath Cantus melismas in its second half. The Magnificat settings

of the Gabrielis⁴¹ are far removed in spirit and treatment from their liturgical origins, and are set in the manner of the more ebullient motets; the pacing of the choir exchanges is not dictated by hemistich but by an acute ear for musical effect; thus Andrea's impressive tutti at 'omnes generationes' is prepared by both cumulative overlap of choirs and a fifths progression which reaches its destination on the first chord of the tutti, a device exploited by Giovanni at the same passage in the 1597 setting.⁴² Composers may have been influenced by the Magnificat settings of the Gabrielis in creating, in turn, their own impressive settings of the canticle; the vivid Magnificat in Colombano's 1597 Vespers psalms is the most progressive piece in the publication and employs a C signature; likewise, Mortaro's 12-voice Magnificat in the second volume of the composite publication of masses, motets and Magnificats of 1595 is designed to impress, with several interpolations of falsobordone (at 'suscepit Israel', 'recordatus misericordiae', 'sicut erat in principio' and 'et in saecula saeculorum').⁴³ The psalm-tone still provides a strong structural element in settings by less confident provincial composers; Antegnati, who thought of himself essentially as an amateur composer⁴⁴, relies heavily on the psalm-tone in his 1592 psalms a8, and the benefit of his procedure is apparent in the convincing balance at the antiphonal exchange of bars 31 to 47 of Lauda Jerusalem⁴⁵ where the prominence of the psalm-tone is weighted equally in both Cantus parts. This contrasts with some lack of confidence in the rhythmic and harmonic treatment; the opening antiphonal exchange, for example, is rooted in the tonic, with no sense of harmonic adventure,

and the second phrase settles into an uninspired rhythmic tread (bars 7-15). Antegnati is overfond of the weak harmonic progression II-I (e.g. bars 5-6, 13-14, 17-18, 56-57, 69, 89) and, less frequently, I-II, and employs sequential repetition rarely.

The trend away from adherence to the psalm-tone is best exemplified in Mortaro's 1599 composite publication of 12-voice masses, Vespers psalms, motets, Magnificats and falsibordoni. He follows the North Italian practice of including two contrasting Magnificat settings, of which the more elaborate is based on Giovanelli's five-voice madrigal Tirsi io me part'à Dio⁴⁶. Mortaro finds the psalm-tone an inadequate means to underpin a large setting and builds his Magnificat on three main points of parody:

- (i) the simple I-V-I progression with inner 4-3 suspension of the madrigal's opening phrase is the basis for the elaborated tutti opening of the Magnificat (bars 1-4);
- (ii) the simple undulating V-I-V phrase at 'a Dio' is expanded to close overlapping antiphony in three choirs (bars 8-10, 22-24);
- (iii) the phrase 'come tu regge il core' is treated in the Magnificat without the falling minim line in the inner part (bars 43-48).

Mortaro is pursuing harmonic clarity by using the madrigal model, although he prefers to exploit the flat side (e.g. E flat harmonies, bars 56-57) and excludes Giovanelli's evocative excursion to A (in bar 4 of the madrigal). The influence of the Gabrielis is strong, especially in the close antiphony of bars 8-10 and 22-23; it is significant

**PARTITVRA
DELLA MESSA.**

SALMI, MOTETTI, E MAGNIFICAT,
A tre Chori.

DI ANTONIO MORTARO

D A B R E S C I A .

ALLA S. CASA DI LORETO.



I N M I L A N O ,

Appresso l'herede di Simon Tini, & Gio. Francesco Besozzi.

M. D. X C I X.

Plate VI: Title-page of the organ part-book of Mortaro's

Messa, salmi, motetti, e Magnificat, a tre chori, 1599.

Magnificat:
Tirsi io mi par-
to a Dio.



Magnificat anima mea do mi num Et exalta vit ij



Spiritus meus in Deo Quia respexit humilitatem ecce enim

Plate VII: The opening of the organ basso seguente score of Magnificat Tirsi
io mi part'à Dio, from Mortaro's Messa, salmi, motetti, e Magnificat..., 1599.

that to emulate their large-scale settings, however, the stimulus of a model was required. Mortaro, in common with Antegnati in the four through-composed psalms and Magnificat of the 1592 set, includes the 'Magnificat' phrase as part of the composition. This is a characteristic of grandiose settings more in the Brescia/Milan area than in the terraferma as a whole; the less-ambitious primi toni setting has the more usual plainchant intonation.

The most significant feature of spezzato psalm- and Magnificat-composition in the period is the unorthodox and experimental scoring when compared to the normal forces of two four-voice choirs as used by Willaert. Chamaterò's nine-voice Magnificat of 1575 is perhaps the most daring in this respect, using three three-voice choirs with subtly-varied clef-combinations.⁴⁷ Chamaterò shows himself to be an expert in realising the new antiphonal potential, with closely-staggered entries in separate choirs (e.g. bars 14-15, 18, 23-24, 42-43, 52-53, 54-55, 60) as well as pairing of two choirs to join forces against the remaining group (e.g. bars 11-12, 35-39, 71-72, 81-82), and pictorial isometric entries by the combined choirs, notably at 'omnes generationes' (bar 21); even in this last instance, however, Tenor I anticipates the tutti by one beat, reflecting Chamaterò's characteristic fluidity and constant interplay of rhythm. Harmonies are kaleidoscopically varied by subtle progression through fifths (e.g. bars 42-44). Chromaticism is rare but pungent, as in the cadential false-relation between Cantus I and III at bar 33. A richness of sonority results from the combination of the preponderance of low clefs and the many full triads formed in the bass register (e.g.

bars 3, 5, 6, 52). Instances of awkwardness of line in an inner part are rare (e.g. Altus II, bar 65), and the setting demonstrates a surprisingly firm control of the novel vocal disposition.

Other nine-voice Magnificats followed: Massaino's 1576 set of Vespers psalms a5 includes a nine-voice setting as the last of three Magnificats, and Colombano's 1583 Magnificats a9 conclude with an impressive three-choir setting a14. In Colombano's nine-voice settings, the scoring - Choir I a4 contrasted with Choir II a5 - is strongly influenced by Humanist-inspired musical dialogues, as the high-flown dedication invoking Classical inspiration attests.⁴⁸ The settings are through-composed, with Colombano's characteristic brief scalic melismas, and tight rhythmic figures, especially in the secundi toni setting at 'puerum', which is tossed from one choir to the other, the effect heightened by the sonority and attack afforded by instrumental participation.⁴⁹ The same disposition of voices is used in Colombano's Vespers psalms of 1587; their chordal style, with much repeated-note writing, and the incorporation of symbolic triple-time sections into doxologies, reflects Colombano's move from Milanese territory into the Venetian Republic.

Whether the inclusion of tutti chordal recitation in the measured setting was Colombano's own innovation or whether he had borrowed the idea from another source is not certain, but the device was imitated in the next two decades in Vespers psalms and Magnificats as a means of providing variety and balance, especially in the longer psalms; Gastoldi's 1601 psalms a8 for example feature falsobordone verses set for each choir alternately, and

in Lauda Hierusalem a strong sense of symmetry is achieved between the two falsobordone verses by reversing the part-writing of the decorative suspension formula. Colombano uses it in the middle of the long psalm Domine probasti⁵⁰ (it has 25 verses) to treat verse 13 as a distinct unit, with the two separated hemistiches each commencing with recitation for two bars (bars 107-8, 114-5) and concluding with florid cadences. Although the setting corresponds closely to the verse structure, which creates its own formal strength, fifths progression is used to approach the reservata B major harmony at 'quo ibo' (bar 51). More conventional word-painting is common (e.g. melismas at 'liquefaciet' and 'fluent'; ascent of Cantus I in verse 7 at 'Si ascendero' balanced by Cantus II falling through the hexachord from e''; octave leaps to depict 'in extremis maris' and 'in inferioris terrae'), and the composer's characteristic scalar fifths are prominent (e.g. bars 13, 35-36, 45-46, 62, 70-71). Bendinelli's Magnificat Sexti Toni a7 in the 1594 Vespers psalms continues the vogue for settings for deliberately unbalanced choirs (the disposition is Choir I: C, A, B; Choir II: C, A, T, B) and is in a progressive rhythmic style, with quaver runs and semiquaver decoration at cadences; the eight-voice spezzato setting significantly has predominantly minim movement. The practice of unbalanced spezzato writing, with specified instrumental participation and implied vocal substitution, of the late 16th century evolved into the large-scale concertato of the early 17th century.

Asola's repetition in the shorter Vespers psalms a8 of the opening musical phrase at 'Sicut erat' in the doxology

provides a link with the spezzato settings of the early 16th century: Santacroce, for example, in Qui habitat unifies the setting by, amongst other devices, pairing the *tuttis* of verse 1 ('Dicet Domino') and the 'Sicut erat' phrase⁵¹, and Willaert gives structural cohesion similarly by repetition of previous material at 'Sicut erat' in Confitebor tibi, De profundis and Lauda Jerusalem. Asola's use in the 1587 psalms of parlando style is extensive; in Nisi Dominus⁵², for example, 'sicut sagittae' and 'non confundetur' are pugnaciously incisive. The verse structure is distended when particular effects of metaphor are appropriate, as at the pictorial restatement of 'non commovebitur' in Choir I over new material in Choir II. A cadence which veers away from the plainchant can be a simple way of highlighting a phrase, as in Choir II's phrase 'cum dederit dilectis suis somnum' in Nisi Dominus which closes with a Phrygian cadence to the evocative extra-modal chord of A. The 1590 psalms a12 continue the emphasis on parlando writing and sequential development, and the style is rhythmically energetic, especially in conveying the meaning of powerful actions (e.g. 'confregit', 'irascetur', 'fremet et tabescet').

It is revealing to compare techniques in spezzato settings with those in settings for undivided choir. Giulio Belli set the same selection of psalms, for feasts throughout the year, in both his 1596 publication a8 and that of 1603 a6. Settings of Laetatus sum from the two publications demonstrate interesting idiosyncracies, as well as technical differences.⁵³ The setting a6 is more conservative in style; it is over $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the length of the a8 setting⁵⁴, features more prominent references to the psalm-tone, (e.g.

Cantus: bars 5-8, 29-31, 63-66, 71-74, 76-79), smooth melismatic lines, ligatures, and a contrapuntal rather than homophonic approach to dissonance, with the involved double suspension at bar 57 being more in the tradition of Clemens than of the early 1600s. Chromatic treatment is similar but less extensive. The spezzato setting compresses the text into a tighter rhythmic and harmonic argument, and allows a greater contrast of pace between the two choirs; the balanced seven-bar statement which opens the setting is deliberately given an "appendix", which highlights the word 'Hierusalem'. Belli exploits the rich sonority of the eight voices in the doxology by writing in eight real parts with briefly disparate bass-lines. The distinction in stylistic approach to the settings should not lead us to discount that which seems to modern ears to be less progressive. On the contrary, the 1603 publication is representative of the self-conscious conservatism which was a reaction to the pace of stylistic change in Vespers music in the 1580s and 1590s, and which is evident in the presence of stile antico characteristics in Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers. Belli's 1603 publication was certainly no less popular than its 1596 counterpart, being reprinted in the following year, and again in 1607 with a basso continuo part.

The occurrence of spezzato Compline publications is rarer than those for single choir; the vogue for more grandiose celebrations of the Office gathered momentum in the 1590s, but contemporary settings for larger forces are undemonstrative; the most dramatic setting in Croce's 1591 publication a8 is Qui habitat, which has angular syllabic depiction of an arrow; the Nunc dimittis uses the two choirs imaginatively in the doxology, Croce gradually reducing

the interval between their entries to create an oscillating motion by the phrase 'et in saecula'. Croce's 1596 psalms a8 for Terce, an isolated 16th century spezzato example for this Office, are more modern in conception, combining syllabic rhythm with triadic outline, and setting several doxologies in triple time as far as 'Filio'. Gratiani's Compline psalms a8 of 1601, are unadventurous, almost somnolent, in their antiphonal treatment, compared with his Vespers psalms of 1603; Milan was more reluctant to capitalize musically on the celebration of Compline. Viadana's 1606 Compline psalms, by contrast, are characterized by strong syllabic writing, purposeful antiphonal drive and strong homophonic presentation; Cum invocarem, for example, features choral canon, in which a phrase is presented in the four voices of one choir and echoed at the same pitch by the opposing choir at a distance of one or two beats; at 'dilatasti' ('set at liberty') the device is used pictorially to contrast with the block eight-part chording which starts the hemistich. It is probable that Giovanni Gabrieli's 1597 grandiloquent setting of the Nunc dimittis a14, although far removed in construction from its liturgical origin,⁵⁵ inspired the settings of Viadana and later generations of composers; certainly, Viadana's control of sonority and rhythm especially in the tutti rhythmic deceleration which indicates the approach of the doxology, is strongly influenced by Gabrielian procedure.

Composers in North Italy took advantage of the regional popularity of the Vespers psalms and Magnificat, their structural and pictorial characteristics and the existing spezzato tradition to experiment both technically and texturally.

The comparative freedom in the Republic's attitude to instrumental participation during celebration of the liturgy enabled composers to produce a rich repertory of large-scale settings which anticipate those of the Gabrielis. As in the Mass, technical developments were instigated by the demands of Trent, and by a sense of exploration, especially in spezzato composition, into a means of setting the text which reflected the detailed sense of the words more closely; this, and an impatience with what Roche refers to as "the tonal monotony inherent in cantus firmus composition"⁵⁶, led to looser observance of the psalm-tone, which, in settings by the Gabrielis and Mortaro, was ultimately sacrificed completely in pursuit of dramatic effect rather than liturgical propriety.

CHAPTER V

TRENDS IN MOTET COMPOSITION

The approach to motet composition was influenced by the greater freedom and flexibility which the wider choice of text afforded. The imagination of many composers, particularly those active in Venice itself, was stimulated by vivid texts, and many settings of the period demonstrate a vigour and enthusiasm which sprang from the increased opportunities for dramatic word-painting and structural experiment.

In the course of the last thirty years of the century, the motet increasingly assumed an extra-liturgical function; that is, the texts set did not necessarily correspond to those prescribed for a particular day or feast in the Missal or Breviary. Composers were reluctant to have their creativity fettered by setting the specified Proper texts, which would be performed perhaps only once or twice a year, preferring either to borrow texts from Offices which were not normally celebrated with measured music, or to set selected psalm-verses. This resulted in motet-settings with texts suitable for more general use in a liturgical season or at an appropriate point in the Mass, and gave the composer more incentive to produce a more individual work. Balbi's 1578 publication is interesting in this respect in that it represents the provision of a chronological cycle of strictly liturgical settings for use principally in the Cathedral at Verona and, by extension, in the wider region: he sets exclusively liturgical texts - the Gradual, Offertory and Communion of the mass for the four Sundays in Advent, and the Tract, Offertory and Communion for Sundays in Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima - but states, with the intention of increasing

the circulation, that the motets can be performed "at other suitable opportunities throughout the whole year" ("simulatque quibuscunque totius anni opportunitatibus deserventium").

It is significant that, in the 1570s, composers still drew their texts from precise liturgical locations for use at a specified feast: Vinci, for example, in his motets of 1572 sets Quia vidistis (from a Vespers antiphon for the feast of St. Thomas); Levita Laurentius (from the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers for the feast of St. Laurence) and specifies O sacrum convivium - the Magnificat antiphon for Corpus Christi - for that feast, whilst in the early 17th century the latter text was often more loosely designated for use at Elevation in the mass (e.g. Bianchi's O sacrum convivium of 1611). The practice of substituting instrumental pieces and vocal pieces based on extra-liturgical texts for one or more of the Propers was so common by the close of the 16th century that it was officially recognized, and authorized, in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum of 1600.¹ This licence to choose texts for their expressive potential resulted in settings which were increasingly similar to the madrigale spirituale in style, with detailed pointing of imagery and symbolism, and also in settings which were vehicles for aural splendour per se and far removed from strictly liturgical use.

The vogue for motets to be performed da concerto accelerated the trend towards extra-liturgical settings, particularly in Venice, where liturgical observances were less strict in any case. The motets of the Gabriellis are ceremonial show-pieces whose texts are constructed with their potential for, for example, refrain procedure and textural contrast

as a priority. The freedom which composers enjoyed in motet-setting in the Republic was shared by composers attached to courts, as Lassus's motets for the Munich court demonstrate, but in Milan and the Papal States liturgical observance was stricter, with a greater emphasis on continuing to provide, even in a polychoral medium, collections corresponding to a particular section of the liturgical cycle, as in Naldi's motets a8, a12 and a16 of 1600.

It is the variety of styles of the motet in the period which makes the genre such an interesting study in itself, as well as constituting the medium in which stylistic transition was most rapid. The styles range from the "utilitarian" strictly homophonic, with unostentatious organ doubling, through reservata intellectualism, settings of Marian antiphons which paraphrase the plainchant, conservative motets which look back to the generation of Willaert, and intensely subjective madrigalian motets, to extravagant coro spezzato canvasses with trompe d'oreille echo-effects and spectacular climax-building, and spare three-voice pieces which characterize the small-scale concertato. Examples of each of these stylistic categories will be examined in due course; initially, however, we must explore more fully the significance of the varied terminology of motet collections, the trends in choice of text, and the variety of methods by which composers gave structure and formal cohesion to their settings.

i) Terminology

Whereas masses, psalms and Magnificats were described with little terminological variation, publications of motets were issued under a variety of titles. In some cases (e.g. motetto and concerto), the distinction in title could be a significant indication of the appropriateness of the contents for performance within the liturgy, and of the implied manner of performance; in others, the individuality of title is often the result of whim on the part of the composer or the publisher. The term motecta (and, of course, its similarly-spelt and declined alternatives) was a relatively informal term at this period: Girolamo Belli's 1589 collection a8 is entitled Sacrae cantiones quae vulgo motecta nuncupantur; Canali's collection of 1581 is similarly headed Sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta dicuntur; Zallamella qualifies his description of his Musica of 1582, consisting of "ingeniosos simul et pios cantus", as "quae Motecta passim appellantur"; both Giulio Belli and Bassano adopt a formal description of the contents on the title-pages of the 1600, and 1598/1599 publications, but refer to the detailed contents by the heading "Index motectorum". This informality of the term gave it a progressive connotation: Vincenti published Croce's 1594 collection, with the novel partitura, as Motetti; Alberti's collection of 1594 is entitled in the vernacular as Motetti à sei voci - a modern designation for what are, by contrast, reactionary compositions; Capilupi's Motectorum ... liber primus (1603) is genuinely

modern both in the style of the contents and of the horticultural metaphor of the dedication. The traditional designation "cantionum sacrarum" was nevertheless still in use in the 1600s (viz. Bendinelli, Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus, 1592; Giulio Belli, Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus, 1600), although its grammatical presentation was sometimes lax (viz. Massaino, Sacri Cantiones, 1607). Asola's two self-contained motet collections, of 1600, are entitled Divinae Dei laudes and Sacro Sanctae dei laudes; Massaino's 1607 few-voiced motets are referred to as Musica spirituale.

The terms concento and concerto both originally signified the participation of instruments with voices in performance and were, in this respect, not specifically associated with motets (viz. Asola's 1574 Vespers psalms a8); with the incorporation of the word concerti into the title of Giovanni Gabrieli's 1587 anthology, the terms indicating performance method became eponymous for the motets themselves. Thus Trombetti's Motetti of 1589 are not entitled Concerti, but nevertheless include six motets which are indicated to be performed Da Concerto. The term became more common in the 1590s: Massaino's collection of 1592 is entitled Sacri Modulorum Concentus and specifies instrumental participation in the Preface². Banchieri's 1595 collection and Bassano's 1599 motets are early examples of the use of the title Concerti ecclesiastici; it is interesting that the wording of the title of Bassano's twin motet volume of 1598 differs slightly from that of 1599: Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici implies that the "concerti ecclesiastici" are motets for

musical events in church, performed da concerto. Croce's motets a4 of 1597 are referred to by the composer as "miei Concenti musicali" - an early example of the use of the term in relation to fewer-voiced sacred pieces.

Concerti differed from motets and sacrae cantiones in their association with major political and religious festivities, in the often laudatory nature and eclecticism of the texts, and in the arrangement of pieces in the publication by vocal forces rather than by liturgical order;³ motet texts, however, are appropriate for specific liturgical commemorations, often use the bulk of a psalm or Respond text, and determine the order of the motets in the volume by a liturgical pattern - for example, Sundays in Advent and Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima in Balbi's 1578 publication; or the major feasts of the year with intervening motets for local events or celebrations in Vinci's publication of 1572 (viz. two motets for the funeral rites of a local dignitary ("In magni Hestoris Baleonis funebribus"), and a motet celebrating the defeat of the Turks (Intret super eos)). Zallamella's 1582 motet collection separates the Proprium de Tempore texts from those for the Proprium Sanctorum (including two motets for the patron-saints of Ravenna), and is concluded by settings of texts from the Commune Sanctorum, and two settings to mark the death of the local bishop and the election of his successor (see Plate VIII). Particular collections could be weighted towards a specific area of the Proprium de Tempore: Donato (1599) sets 15 texts for Advent and Quadragesima, out of a total of 21 from the Proprium de Tempore as a whole; - the settings a6 and a8 are weighted towards the major feasts⁴.

INDEX MOTECTORVM.

In die Palcha	Hæc dies quam fecit dominus	1
In ascensione Domini	Viri Galilei	2
In die Pentecostes	Non uos relinquam orphanos	3
In festo sanctissime Trinitatis	Tibi laus tibi gloria	4
In solemnitate Corporis Christi	O salutaris ostia	5
Tempore aduentus Domini	Fratres hora est iam	6
In Natiuitate Domini	Multifariam multisq; modis	7
In Circumcisione Domini	Verbum caro factum est	8
In Epiphania	Stella quam uiderant Magi	9
In purificatione S. Mariæ V.	Adorna thalamum tuum syon	10
Tempore Quadragesimæ	Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile	11
In Dominica palmarum	Ingrediente Domino	12
In festis de Cruce	Salue Crux preciosa	13
In natiuitate Precursoris	Audite in Iulæ	14
In festo S. Apollinaris patroni Rauenn.	Surge Apollinaris	15
In festo S. Vitalis patroni Rauennæ	Adest nobis ueneranda festiuitas	16
In dedicatione S. Michaelis Archang.	Factum est silentium in cælo	17
In festo omnium sanctorum	Vidi turbam magnam	18
In omnibus solemnitatib. S. Mariæ V.	Os culetur me osculo oris sui	19
In dedicatione Ecclesiæ	Vidi Civitatem sanctam	20
Pro defunctis fidelibus	Noua turbentur amplius	21
Pro gratiarum petitione in Illustris & Reuer. Do. D. Iulij Feltrij de Ruere		
Rauen. Eccl. Archiep. morte	Vide domine afflictiones nostras	22
Pro gratiarum actione in Illustris. & Reuer. D. Christophori Boncomp.		
ad Rauenn. Eccles. promotione	Gaudete in domino	23
In natali Apostolorum, & Euang.	Fratres iam non estis hospites	24
In Natali plurimorum Martirum, & Pro uno martire,		
In natali confessorum	Viri sancti	25
In Natali Virginum	Euge serue bone	26
	Specie tua	27
	Nudus egressus sum	28
	Foderunt manus meas	28
	Versa est in luctum	29



INDEX MOTECTORUM

Dominica prima Aduentus	Erunt signa in Sole & Luna	1
Secunda pars	Et tunc videbunt	2
Dominica secunda	Cum audisset Ioannes	3
Secunda pars	Quid existis videret	4
Dominica tertia	Gaudete in Domino	5
Dominica quarta	Canite gaba in Sion	6
Secunda pars	Rorate celi desuper	7
Dominica infra Octavam Natiuitatis	Dum medium silentium	8
Dominica prima post Epiphaniam	Fili quid fecistis nobis	9
Dominica secunda	Nuptiz factz sunt	10
Dominica tertia	Cum descendisset Iesus	11
Dominica quarta	Ascendente Iesu	12
Dominica quinta	Domine nonne bonum scimus	13
Dominica sexta	Simile est regnum celorum	14
Dominica Septuagesima	Dixit pater familias	15
Dominica Sexagesima	Cum turba plurima	16
Dominica Quinquagesima	Transiente Domino	17
Secunda pars	Et ait illi Iesus	18
Dominica Quadragesima	Ductus est Iesus	19
Secunda pars	Tunc assumpsit eum	20
Tertia pars	Iterum assumpsit	21
Dominica secunda	Assumpsit Iesus	22
Secunda pars	Et descendit illis	23
Dominica tertia	Extollens vocem	24
Dominica quarta	Latare Hierusalem	25
Dominica quinta	Quis ex vobis	26
Dominica sexta	Ingrediente Domino	27
Dominica Resurrectionis	Angelus Domini	28
Secunda pars	Et introeuntes	29
Dominica in Albis	Venit Iesus ianuis clausis	30
Dominica secunda post Pascha	Ego sum pastor ouium	31
Dominica tertia	Amen dico vobis	32
Dominica quarta	Vado ad eum	33
Dominica quinta	Vsq; modo	34
Dominica infra Octavam Ascensionis	Cum venerit Paracletus	35
Dominica Pentecostes	Hodie completi sunt	36
Tempore Aduentus	Alma Redemptoris	37
Tempore Quadragesima	Aue Regina celorum A 12.	38
Tempore Paschali	Regina celi A 13.	39
Tempore Aduentus	Aue Regina celorum A 14.	40

FINIS.



Plate IX: The index of motets in Naldi's Mottectorum
duobus choris...liber primus, 1600.

Publications of large-scale motetti, as distinct from those for four or five voices, were often arranged, like concerti collections, by number of voices, rather than by the liturgical order (viz. Giulio Belli, 1600: a4, a5, a6, a8, a12; Capilupi, 1603: a6, a8). Naldi's collection of motets a8, a12 and a16 includes 28 settings a8 for the cycle of Sundays from the first Sunday in Advent to Whit Sunday, with four settings of Marian antiphons for use in Advent, Lent and during the season of Easter (see Plate IX).

ii) Texts

The choice of motet texts reflects the changing emotional mood of the late 16th century. Old Testament events and allegories give way to texts which are immediate, emotional and mystical. The Song of Songs was a more frequently used source, because of the intensity and mysticism of its language (viz. Veni sponsa Christi: Baccusi, 1579; Orietur sicut sol: Canali, 1581; Veni amica mea: Girolamo Belli, 1585; Osculetur me: Vecchi, 1590; Veni in hortum: Croce, 1594; Ego flos campi: Banchieri, 1595; Descendi in hortum: Croce, 1601). The text Duo Seraphim, which had a significant vogue from 1600 to 1615, appears in a setting a6 by Girolamo Belli in 1585 and a setting a8 by Ingegneri in 1589⁵. Texts which afforded opportunities for choral dialogue, whether internal or between choirs, were often set, especially the vivid Christmas text Quem vidistis pastores: Bassano, 1599, a8; Giulio Belli, 1600, a4; Canali, 1603, a6. Texts with a strong martial flavour were popular, especially in polychoral settings: Factum est silentium (Zallamella, 1582, a5; Croce, 1594, a8; Banchieri, 1595, a8; Bassano, 1599, a8); Canite

tuba (Ingegneri, 1589, a8; Bassano, 1599, a8); Percussit Saul (Croce, 1594, a8); Dum praeliaretur Michael (Asola, 1591, a5).

The proportion of Marian texts in a motet collection often reflects the religious fervour and devotion of the composer: Canali's modest collection of 1581 includes five Marian motets; Baccusi's 1579 set includes two settings each of Regina coeli and Salve Regina; Bassano's 1598 publication includes two settings of Ave Regina. Texts which honoured a specific saint or respected personage became less common: Alberti's 1594 collection, which is reactionary in style and content, includes three such settings, and Vinci's 1572 motets include four. Texts of a more general nature were preferred; Strunk notes that the trend towards the end of the 16th century was for "collective" or "neutral" types of motet⁶. Texts traditionally associated with canonic practice, such as Sub tuum praesidium, gradually disappeared: a rare late example is Canali's setting of 1603.

iii) Form

The supplanting of polyphonic procedure by a predominantly homophonic approach, which was strongly influenced by the popularity of coro spezzato psalm composition, posed problems of construction which were peculiar to the motet. Whereas psalm-settings could rely on the plainchant, and mass-settings on declared, or undeclared, models, the chant appeared in only settings of the most traditional and highly-revered liturgical formulae, and in concerti hardly at all⁷. Except for settings of Marian antiphons, in which the plainchant is paraphrased, and of texts with traditional cantus firmus provision such as Sub tuum praesidium, motets were

mostly motivated by purely internal means.

a) Bipartite motets

In the balanced two-section responsory structure, which survives in settings which are often stylistically less-progressive and for single choir, the material shared at the close of each of the two sections gives the motet structural strength: Massaino's first book of motets a5 and a6 has a number of examples of the aBcB pattern - the first five pieces of the collection, including Filiae Hierusalem, which has a long B passage starting at 'In die solemnitatis', and the six-voice Quando nil superet the second section of which is distinctly more progressive than the first; Massaino's third book of motets a5 (1590) includes Sicut cervus, Beata Caecilia and Misit me pater, each of which has identical B passages to conclude the two sections; Baccusi, whose two-section motet Quanti mercenarii is included in Massaino's 1576 collection, treats Aspice Domine, in his 1579 collection, in aBcB form, with a 24-bar B passage; Girolamo Belli's Duo Seraphim (1585, a6) includes a total of 38 bars of shared material in its total length of 63 bars; Croce, in his 1594 Quaeremus a8, one of the more conservative motets of this important publication, closes each of the two sections with a joyful 'Noe' passage, which also occurs in the course of each section; Donato's Quanti mercenarii and Beati eritis (1599 a5) are undistinguished settings: the latter repeats the triple-time 'Gaudete' passage at the conclusion of both sections of the motet.

Baccusi's Aspice Domine (1579) exploits the expressive resources of the homophonic style, often in conjunction with clear fifths progressions (viz. 'plena', bar 25; 'Non est', bar 42; 'Plorans', bar 67)⁸; a fifths progression also motivates the sequential treatment of the phrase 'nisi tu Deus' (bar 55) and the loosely-imitative texture at 'et lachrymae' (bars 83-89). The opening of the motet is a simple compromise between chordal and imitative writing: the prominent rising fifth motive first stated by Cantus alone is imitated in turn by Altus, Tenor, Quintus and (in inverted form) Bassus; each new entry, however, becomes the root of a simple chordal progression, which at once conveys the directness of the appeal, and also intensifies it by the addition of forceful dissonances in the 9-8 Cantus suspension of bar 5, the 7-6 Tenor suspension of bar 8 and the 4-3 Altus suspension of bar 9, and by the sudden shift to B flat at bar 11. The following phrase 'quia facta est desolata civitas' features 7-6 suspensions (bars 14, 17) and 4-3 suspensions (bars 13, 15, 16, 19, 22). The tonal thinking of the composer is strongest at the short sequential passage 'domina gentium', where the harmonic argument is indicated by detailed provision of accidentals.

The pathos implicit in the second half of the motet-text is realised in the Phrygian cadence which closes the balanced statements of 'Plorans ploravit in nocte', in the progression by fifths from a B flat area (bar 81) to E and A major chording (bars 88-90), and, most dramatically, in the treatment of 'in maxillis' by a double suspension at bar 93, the

Sextus appoggiatura producing a rich $\begin{smallmatrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix}$ chord followed by a cadential 6

Girolamo Belli's 1585 motets a6 exploit inner antiphonal treatment of two four-voice groups. Duo Seraphim features impressive tutti exclamations at 'Sanctus', and at 'Plena est omnis terra' which is preceded by a semibreve rest to impart heightened impact.⁹ The two seraphim of the opening phrase of the setting are represented by double counterpoint, and their antiphonal calling ('alter ad alterum') by internal antiphony between Sex., T, B, and C, A, Q. The three seraphim are referred to by a gentle sequential passage in the three upper voices (bars 31-36), and their unification is pointed not by a unison, but by the isolation of the Altus (bar 43).

b) Use of refrains as a structural device

The practice of repeating B passages in bipartite motets to provide aesthetic balance was continued in principle in single-section motets; the form of Ingegneri's Quem vidistis (1589, a8) and Gratiani's Preparate corda vestra (1601, a8) is, in effect, the aBcB of the responsory motet, but without the sectional break. This formal outline could be expanded by subdividing the B passage into distinct sub-sections: an excellent example of this is Massaino's very energetic Maria Magdalene a9¹⁰, which, after the triple time section at 'sicut locutus est', repeats the subsequent sub-section.

'praecedet vos', 'ibi eum videbitis' and 'alleluia' in sequence, creating an A B C D E C D E structure. The most popular refrain, especially amongst composers in Venice itself, was that to 'alleluia' or similar expressions of rejoicing, very often in triple time, such as 'gaudete' and its grammatical derivatives. The recurrence of the refrain results in a rondo structure, which imparts considerable structural cohesion to the motet, and provides contrast between the common-time treatment of the body of the text, and the triple-time rhythmic energy of the refrain sections; the final appearance of the refrain is often slightly extended, or followed by a short common-time codetta. The device was popular from the 1570s, when it appeared in five-voice motets by Vinci and Merulo, and achieved its widest circulation in the eight-voice motets of Croce; Giovanni Gabrieli uses the device more eclectically, preferring in some pieces to set the 'alleluia' to different music at each of its appearances (viz. Angelus ad pastores; Jubilemus singuli; Ego sum), whilst using the 'alleluia' as a rondo in the larger-scale pieces¹¹. The list of motets on pages 149-150 containing disjunct refrains, whilst not exhaustive indicates the extent of the practice in the period.

Zallamella's Gaudete in domino justifies the refrain by observing the textual prompting 'iterum dico' ('again I say')¹³; this phrase has a written-out decorative gruppetto in all the voices. The composer's quest for modernity, which characterizes the entire volume, is evident in the diminished fourth outline of the phrase 'modestia vestra'

in the stretto imitation of motives, often at the distance of a crotchet, in the frequent instances

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Details of refrain</u>
Vinci	Mandatum novum do	1572	5	triple time 'sicut dilexi vos'
"	O sacrum convivium	"	5	triple time 'mens impletur'
Merulo	Pax vobis	1578	5	12-bar t.t. 'alleluia' (X2)
"	Sancti et justi	"	5	8-bar t.t. 'alleluia' (X3)
"	Salvator noster	"	5	6-bar t.t. 'gaudeamus' (X3); Quintus and Tenor exchange.
Massaino	Quem vidistis	1580	5	t.t. 'collaudantes'
"	Cantabant sancti	"	5	t.t. 'et resonabat terra...'
"	Non vos relinquam	"	5	t.t. 'gaudebit cor vestrum', and internal 'alleluia'.
Zallamella	Gaudete in domino	1582	5	repeat of opening 5½ bar passage at bar 10
"	Non vos relinquam	"	5	t.t. 'alleluia'
Pratoneri	Hodie Christus natus est	1584	8	'noe', rather pedestrian in character.
Massaino	Maria Magdalene	1585	9	A B C D E C D E plan
A. Gabrieli	Deus qui beatum Marcum	1587	7	t.t. 'alleluia' (X2)
"	Egredimini	"	8	t.t. 'et jubilant omnes filii Dei' (X2).
Ingegneri	Canite tuba	1589	8	'ecce Deus ... adveniet'
"	Duo seraphim	"	8	'plena est ... gloria eius'
"	Quem vidistis	"	8	'Natum vidimus ... collaudantes'
Trombetti	Paratum cor meum	1589	8	'cantabo et psalmum dicam Domino'
"	Misericordiae	"	12	'vide ... iustitiae tuae'
Orazio Vecchi	Euge serve bone	1590	4	t.t. 'intra in gaudium' (X3)
Massaino	Ecce nomen	1590	5	'alleluia'
Croce	Regina coeli	1591	8	t.t. 'alleluia' (X4)
Massaino	Dulce lignum	1592	7	t.t. 'portare pretium'
"	Non turbetur cor vestrum	"	7	t.t. 'et gaudebit'
"	O sacrum convivium	"	8	t.t. 'mens impletur'
"	Vidi Dominum	"	8	t.t. 'replebant templum'
"	In columbe specie	"	8	'ipsum audite'
Merulo	Regina coeli	1594 ¹²	8	t.t. 'alleluia' (X4)
Croce	Ave Virgo sponsa Dei	1594	8	t.t. 'alleluia'
"	Ornaverunt	"	8	t.t. 'alleluia' (X4)
"	Decantabat	"	8	t.t. 'alleluia' (X4)
"	Factum est silentium	"	8	'millia millium'
"	Incipite Domino	1595	8	10-bar t.t. 'Cantate Domino in cimbaliis' (X2)

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Details of refrain</u>
Croce	Ingredimini omnes	1595	8	opening 4-bar tutti (X3)
Orazio	Repleti sunt omnes	1597	8	t.t. 'alleluia' (X3)
Vecchi	Stetit Jesus	1597	6	A B C B C plan; B = 'pax vobis' C = 'Alleluia'; Cantus lines reversed in repeats of refrain sections.
G. Gabrieli	Quis est iste	1597	10	'alleluia' (X5)
"	Hodie Christus natus est	"	10	'alleluia' (X5)
"	Regina caeli	"	12	'alleluia' (X4)
Bassano	Dic nobis Maria	1598	6	'Dic nobis ... in via' - a 9 bar phrase (X3)
Gratiani	Preparate corda vestra	1601	8	'et liberavit ... vestrorum'
Mortaro	Ierusalem in montibus	1606	9	'Quia de medio gentium'
Massaino	Veni sponsa Christi	1607	7	t.t. 'Ecce venio' (X7)
Gastoldi	Qui timetis	1607	8	'Qui timetis' (X3); 'alleluia' (X3)

(e.g. bar 1, iv; 2, iv; 3, v);

Cantus I has a fresh, appealing line which derives from the lyrical effect of the rising fifth and final exposed third: the cell is the epitome of early Baroque clarity and poise. The appearances of the refrain encloses two brief sections of independent material: the first, starting at bar 5, moves sharpward from G to A major before returning swiftly to the tonic: the second features emotive declamatory treatment of 'O Maria', with a poignant accented passing c'' in the Cantus I line (bar 15), and mannered linear writing with notated rests signifying emotional inhalations; the combination of two separate sets of syncopation at bar 17 is a tour de force of rhythmic complexity. The material following the second appearance of the refrain includes progressive declamatory imitative quaver movement and a harmonically-adventurous triple-time section before the syncopated common-time 'alleluia' passage closes the motet. The closing exposed third of the refrain cell becomes a feature of Cantus I in the remainder of the setting (e.g. bars 19, 16, 19, 33, 35, 51, 52, 56, 58).

Bassano's Easter Motet Dic nobis Maria is a delightful example of the Venetian refrain style¹⁶: the refrain cell itself has a dramatic element in the repetition of the four-bar statement, in the upper three voices, by the six voices, with doubled thirds (Sextus doubles Quintus, bar 5; Tenor doubles Sextus in the semibreve chord of bar 9) creating a rich sonority, and with effective expansion of the time-scale of the cadence. As in Croce's Ingredimini, the musical style is concise and direct; the first episode consists of a four-bar cell at 'sepulchrum Christi' with its own harmonic balance and

rhythmic antiphony; 'Et gloriam' builds antiphonally to a rich tutti enlivened by exciting close canonic imitation. The second episode cadences on the dominant immediately before the third appearance of the refrain, which further enhances the rondo structure. The subsequent triple-time section is made up of a 23-bar passage stated twice; the typically-Venetian syncopated alleluias which conclude the motet depend on pronounced falling sequences (bars 119-122, 124-127).

Mortaro's refrain procedure in Ierusalem in montibus (1606) does not have the clarity of the Venetian examples: the use of refrain as a genuine structural device is rare in Brescia and the Milanese orbit. The refrain passage is not highlighted by harmonic preparation or by isometric treatment; the choirs overlap, and there is no unity of key, as the passage commences in Choir II on a D major harmony and concludes on an F major harmony. There is no other attempt at formal unity in the motet; the setting is characterized primarily by detailed pictorial treatment: the opening phrase 'Ierusalem plantabis vineam in montibus' is set to three musically-distinct phrases in the course of seven bars, with the opening four bars, set to a rising fifth in the Tenor II and slow-moving harmonies, modelled on Lamentations-settings; quaver roulades represent 'exultabis', 'surge' and 'gaude'. As in the mass-settings, tuttis are often anticipated by close antiphonal writing, and motivated by solid fifths progressions.

Massaino's Sacrae Cantiones a7 of 1607 can claim an importance equal to Croce's Sacra Cantilene of 1610 in the development of the refrain procedure. Both composers had used the device in earlier publications with no distinction in texture between the refrains and the remainder of the musical argument; in these late publications, moreover, there is numerical as well as stylistic contrast between soloists and the ripieno. In Croce's collection, the ripieno sections a4 are directed to be sung loudly and with optional additional choral participation for maximum sonority¹⁷; the solo sections are softer dynamically, smoother and more florid melodically, and in common time. Massaino's Veni sponsa Christi is very similar in its stylistic approach¹⁸: the solo sections feature fioritura passagework in Septimus, Sextus, Quintus and Bassus and are in common time; the notated linear decoration includes repeated dotted quaver rhythms, semiquaver roulades and tremoli, trilli, and quaver runs in the Bassus. Three of the four soloists introduce the first phrase of the motet; thereafter, the Sextus, Quintus and Bassus each present a section of the text as a solo (the Septimus concludes the Quintus' second solo appearance); Sextus and Bassus have an imitative duet from bars 51 to 57. The seven solo and ensemble passages function as episodes between the appearances of the isometric triple-time refrain a7 with its concluding hemiola pattern and swift twofold rising fifths progression; the contrast is further pointed by the

of a third shift/ from the final chord of the solo sections (either G or D) to the initial B flat harmony of the tutti. The refrain cell is repeated immediately after its seventh appearance as a brief, emphatic coda.

c) Repetition of concluding sections

The simple technique of repeating a section of material immediately after its original statement is used to the best effect at the conclusion of a setting; its use could be prompted by the need to expand a homophonic setting of a short text, or by the desire to restate a moving climax, or by a combination of the two; a brief common-time codetta was almost invariably appended to a repeated concluding section in triple time; as in the repetition of refrain sections, equally-pitched voices were often interchanged for the restatement of material.

Zallamella's Ingrediente Domino (1582) repeats the section commencing 'cum ramis palmarum' and adds a codetta. Pratoneri's 1584 motet, Hodie Virgo Maria, for the Assumption of the Virgin, is only 36 bars in length; the amount of original musical material is, moreover, further reduced by the repetition of the 11-bar passage from 'gaudete' at bar 14¹⁹. The motet reflects the rather pedestrian style of the remainder of the settings of the volume: the simple tonal imitation of the opening soon gives way to homophonic working, with rhythmically uncomplicated antiphony between the equally-pitched choirs, apart from mild individual movement in Tenor II (bars 18, 23), and no expansion of the final cadence for the restatement of the section. The bass-parts diverge into lines a third apart (e.g. bars 7-9) to achieve increased warmth of sonority at the tutti treatment of 'Maria Virgo', but are at the unison or octave for the setting of 'gaudete'.

Some large-scale motets of the Gabrielis, in the 1587 anthology, feature the device: Andrea's Iubilare Deo a8 repeats the section 'et usque ... veritas eius', and Benedicam a12 the section which commences 'et facies'; Giovanni's O magnum mysterium a8 states the 10-bar 'alleluia' section twice and adds a concluding codetta. Orazio Vecchi's Christum regem a8 (1590) also repeats the triple-time 'alleluia' section and adds a final common-time 'alleluia'. Merulo's Magnum hereditatis mysterium a8 (1594) repeats the closing triple-time 18-bar section; Mirabiles elationes maris a8 repeats the section commencing 'in longitudine'; Haec est dies a8 restates the triple-time 12-bar section commencing 'et exultemus dicentes'.

Croce's 1595 O viri, O galilaei a8 repeats the entire 'ut cantemus Alleluia' passage, separated only by a short joyous exclamation 'scandit Christus alleluia'²⁰; this splendid motet is virtually a short self-contained cantata, with its situational representation of the questioning crowd in the opening closely-imitative music of Choir I, and of the unified answers of the Apostles in the tutti statements at 'admiramur'; the drama is made more vivid by the interruption of Choir II's isometric semibreve at 'Cur?', answered in turn by Choir I's phrase 'nam Dei est actio'; the repeated passage is built on a very strong fifths progression, which is repeated in inversion (Ex. 2). O triste spectaculum a8 repeats the section 'ululate ... salvator noster'. Ego rogabo patrem a5 (1601) restates the triple-time 'alleluia' section and adds a common-time codetta.

Giulio Belli's 1595 motet, Tota pulchra es a8, for

two equal-pitched four-voice choirs in high clefs (C4, C3, C2, G2), restates the 7½-bar passage 'veni de libano coronaberis' and adds a short codetta, consisting of a plagal cadence with **quaver** decoration at bars 39-41.²¹ As in all Belli's music, there is wide variety of motivic detail and rhythmic activity: the gentle, imitative style of the opening phrase gives way to close, chordal antiphony, which leads into mellifluous chromaticism evoking the phrase 'mel et lac'; the pictorial nature of the musical inspiration continues in the closely-canonic rising scale-patterns at 'surge', the syncopated appeals of 'veni' in the high register of the Cantus parts, and in the quaver turns, in parallel sixths and thirds, to depict 'coronaberis'. Audivi vocem de caelo a6, from Belli's 1600 collection of motets a4, a5, a6, a8 and a12, includes a repeat of the 14-bar passage 'Quia facta ... Alleluia'²²; the motet has, therefore, a simple formal outline:

A (15½ bars)

B (13½ bars)

B (14 bars, including a slightly expanded final cadence, and featuring interchange of the Cantus and Sextus lines from bar 37; there is some deviation from the original material of bars 20 to 22 in the treatment of bars 34 to 36 in all parts except the Bassus).

The musical treatment of the text is intricate, with close imitation of the opening syllabic motive (e.g. Quintus follows at the distance of a minim), detailed cross-rhythm in the inner voices (e.g. the awkward Tenor line, bars 34-37) and involved part-writing (e.g. the unusual bass-suspension on the third minim beat of bar 11, where both Altus and Bassus are suspended on an F against the Cantus g', the Bassus leaping down to the lower C to avoid consecutive octaves).

The strong sequential progression in the Bassus dominates the B section of the motet (e.g. bars 27-28, repeated at bars 40-43).

Capilupi's Salve radix a8 of 1603 repeats the 21-bar section 'Mater Dei ... Christum exora', with choirs reversed, before a rich tutti 5½-bar codetta²³; the repeated section includes a vigorous triple-time passage with hemiola and antiphonal foreshortening. Two motets in Massaino's Musica per cantare con l'organo of 1607 - Quem vidistis and Gabriel Archangelus - are supplied with notated repeats, with alternative note-values for the concluding syllable of the repeated section: thus, in Quem Vidistis, the final syllable of the closing 'alleluia' is sung to a semibreve initially, and, on the repeat, to a breve.

d) Use of refrains as a framing device

A less frequently adopted structural technique was the repetition of the initial section of a motet at its conclusion, producing, in shorter motets, a ternary outline; a brief codetta usually follows the repeat of the refrain. Orazio Vecchi's 1590 collection includes three examples a4 of the type: Cantate Domino, which has an A B C A structure, with a short modulatory transition between the first two sections, and a two-bar coda; Congratulamini; and Velociter exaudi me. In Velociter exaudi me the seven-bar imitative opening section returns at bar 26 as an exact restatement, followed by a four-bar codetta which features close imitative development of the dotted rhythm of the refrain passage woven around a tonic pedal in the Bassus²⁴; the middle section comprises only one motive - a descending sequence of triads regularly aspirated by minim rests - which gives the motet a clear form of A B A + codetta.

Vecchi's Domine Dominus noster a7 of 1597 is a setting of Psalm 8, omitting the doxology²⁵; the distinctive property of the psalm is the restatement of the first verse as the concluding verse. Vecchi copies this formal outline by repeating the initial six-bar cell at bar 50, with a slightly extended cadence²⁶. He achieves considerable power in the tutti from the combination of internal cross-rhythm, textural sonority and key-progression. The upper voices form close high-pitched triads, with the Cantus ascending to a''. The core of the motet consists of antiphonal alternation of the upper three and lower four voices, which often reflects the textural implications: thus, at bar 22, the upper voices, in a duet-with-bass texture, depict 'lunam et stellas' with a delicate turn in parallel sixths; the statement 'omnia subiecisti' in the upper group is answered by the lower with examples of such subjected, earthbound creatures, and in turn, in the upper group, by a reference to 'the birds of the air'. The reference to the quelling of enemies (bars 15-17) is pointed by a falling sequence which incorporates deliberate false-relation and a pungent augmented triad harmony.

Croce's Percussit Saul a8 of 1594 has a strong ternary²⁷ outline; the opening 15½-bar section is repeated from bar 28, being extended to 18 bars on its restatement by the expansion of the final cadence; the middle section (13½ bars) consists of four undeveloped motivic cells: its last bar coincides with the return of the initial material in Choir I. The setting has forceful rhythms, in keeping with its military metaphor, which are stated in close antiphony to simulate the warring of rival armies (e.g. bars 7-9). The textural and formal clarity of this motet is an important

characteristic of Croce's style, which is at once less intricate and less self-consciously sensational than that of the two Gabrielis.

iv) Small-scale settings

Provision of motets suitable for performance by a small, relatively unsophisticated, group was less extensive than that of small-scale masses and psalms. The majority of small-scale settings were written by musicians in holy orders, and intended primarily for strictly liturgical use. Lodovico Balbi was such a musician: a monk, and pupil of Porta, his motet collections a4 of 1578 and 1587 provide simple settings of texts for, respectively, the four Sundays of Advent and the three Sundays of Septuagesima to Quinquagesima, and for feasts of Saints throughout the year. The 1587 motets are functional settings, suitable for pari or plena voce disposition by octave transposition of the Tenor. The penitential motet De profundis of the 1578 collection²⁸ is imitative throughout, and the mood of desolation is conveyed by the introduction of B flats from bar 28.

The 1581 collection of motets a4 by Floriano Canali epitomises the "convenient style" which "presented few difficulties"²⁹; the participation of the organ, indicated in the title, would have masked any vocal shortcomings. Salve regina is almost rigidly isometric, with increased rhythmic movement at cadences (e.g. bar 27, where the 7-6 suspension and the Phrygian cadence represents very economically the reference to 'tears')³⁰. Orthodox 7-6 suspensions help to convey devotion at 'O pia, O dulcis' (bars 57, 60); the unorthodox notated

7-6 suspension at 'flentes' (bar 24) specifies a Bassus b flat sounding, simultaneously against a g' sharp resolution in the Altus, thus producing a transitory "Italian sixth" chord: this degree of chromaticism is unusual in sacred music of the period, the more so in a small-scale functional setting. Canali's 1588 motets a4 are Proper-substitutes and feature cantus firmus and canonic treatment: Mentibus nostris, the Offertory motet in the Dorian mass, has a canon between Cantus and Bassus, and Felix es, sacra Virgo, features double counterpoint, and a cantus firmus in the Tenor.

Asola's 1596 motets a4 are frequently based on antiphons, with free paraphrase of the chant usually occurring in the Cantus; chordal passages are again infrequent, and mostly depict appropriate phrases in the text (e.g. 'erant omnes pariter' in Dum complerentur).

Agostino Bendinelli's three collections of motets were published within the space of eight years, whilst he was a resident cappellano at the cathedral in Verona.³¹ The 1592 collection comprises 21 motets a4 and two motets a8; Iubilate Deo, the text of which is taken from the first two and a half verses of Psalm 99, is typical of the style of the four-voice settings³²: there is little variety of texture and rhythm, and no attempt to impose an overall formal design; each motive receives detailed imitative treatment, with suspensions worked in to the texture in almost every bar, even in the closing 'alleluia' passage which arrives at its climax on a $\frac{9}{4} - \frac{8}{3}$ double suspension (bar 29); the setting is firmly-rooted on G: there are

14 cadences in G and only five in the only related key explored, C.

A notable exception to the prevailing unadventurous style of small-scale settings is that demonstrated in Mortaro's Sacrae Cantiones of 1598, which are scored a3 (apart from Psallite Deo nostro and Quomodo cantabimus, which are for two voices, and Viri sancti, which is scored a6) and provided with a printed barred, wordless score (see Plate X). The significance of the volume does not lie in the three-voice scoring per se - Asola's Sacri laudes of 1588 are also for three voices - but in the pairing of two equal high voices, supported by a Bassus or Tenor - a disposition which anticipates that of the early Baroque duet-motet:³³ the exuberant ending of Quae est ista where the Cantus parts in thirds weave over a bouncing angular Bassus demonstrates this characteristic. Asola's three-voice Sacri Laudes, by contrast, make no attempt to cultivate a duet-with-bass style, and are characterized by steady rhythms and imitative working.³⁴ The style of Mortaro's volume is fresh and energetic, with vigorous triple-time passages, exciting cross-rhythm and sequential repetition of motivic figures. The vocal range demanded of the Bassus is large, extending in O domina quae rapis corda hominum to an octave and a sixth (c' to E). Other motets are characterized by repetitions of sections (e.g. Iam non dicam vos servos has an 'Alleluia' refrain, and Nos autem gloriari oportet repeats the opening four-bar phrase immediately after its initial statement. The provision of the instrumental score - not an organ continuo part as such - is an indication that doubling or substitution would have been a normal feature of performance of small-scale motets; it is significant that the six-voice Kyrie eleison is the only piece not duplicated in the score, as instrumental participation would have been considered

less appropriate for sections of the Mass Ordinary.

The few-voiced style evolved as much to provide a vehicle for the emerging declamatory idiom, as to provide measured settings suitable for reduced musical forces. Massaino's Musica per cantare con l'organo of 1607, for one, two and three voices, shows how the few-voiced style had ceased to be merely "utilitarian": falsobordone had become a means of dramatic expression of the text, as in the free recitative of O quam suavis (Ex. 3a), Ideo iusti, and In conspectu Angelorum; other features of the declamatory style - the use of rests and repeated notes to convey heightened emotion, the evocative rising diminished fourth (Ex. 3b) and energetic sequence (Ex. 3c) - are also demonstrated in O quam suavis.

v) Echo-motets

Although literal repetition of one choir's phrases by a second was employed in secular pieces (viz. Lassus' O la, o che bon eccho a8 of 1581), its use in sacred music in the period was a novelty.³⁵ Croce's Virgo decus and Banchieri's Confitemini Domino appeared within a year of each other, the former in the 1594 motets a8, and the latter in the 1595 Concerti ecclesiastici a8 where it is designated "(in ecco)" and is the only motet in the collection not to have an organ basso seguente part. Virgo decus is a setting of a non-liturgical text proper to the feast of Christmas³⁶; the piece is strictly homophonic, apart from the characteristic suspended seventh cadential treatment (at bars 5 and 8) during Choir I's uninterrupted 8½-bar opening statement.³⁷ From bar 11 Choir II echoes the final word of each of Choir I's phrases, in an abbreviated form which, for the first three echoes, itself constitutes a new but intelligible word. At bar 36 the antiphony becomes temporarily more literal, and from bar 44 to the end Choir II restates each of Choir I's phrases in full at the distance of a semibreve, apart from the final phrase, which is restated after the space of a full breve, thus bringing the

Da mihi domine.



Plate X: The opening of Da mihi domine, from Mortaro's Sacrae cantiones, 1598.

motet to a close on an extended D major harmony; the exact recreation of the antiphony in bar 52 is precluded by Choir

I's entry on a D major harmony.

vi) Settings of Marian texts

Motets which honour the Virgin are often characterized both by the incorporation of a paraphrase of the antiphon chant and by richly-textured opening and closing tutti, slow rate of harmonic change and intensity of expression. Asola's Alma redemptoris mater a6 of 1576, for use from the first Sunday in Advent until the feast of the Purification, is a characteristically deeply-felt setting, in high clefs, which has some slight paraphrase of the chant in the Cantus³⁸. The tutti at bar 6 is built on a gentle, brief, fifths progression; the climax of the motet is prepared from bar 45, with the Cantus phrase at bars 51-54 a sequential restatement of its line at bars 47-49. The rich six-voice texture is enlivened the closing tutti by gentle crotchet movement with a concluding passing third in Tenor and Quintus. The evocative A major colouring at 'stella maris' (bar 17) is short-lived, but is followed by a punning falling fifth in the Cantus at 'cadenti' (bars 18-19).

Vinci's Salve Regina a5 of 1572³⁹ features an intense, chordal approach, with brief, vocative phrases and tertial juxtaposition of E and C harmonies in the closing tutti phrases; the progression at 'illos tuos misericordes' incorporates chromatic inflection (i.e. successive E minor and E major harmonies) between the two overlapping vocal groupings.

Merulo's Gaude sponsa chara Dei a6 (1583) is melismatic, with a cantus firmus to the phrase 'Ave Maria' stated six times in the Tenor, and also, at the close of the motet, in the Bassus.

Porta's Ave Virgo a5 (1605) is based on the plainchant and includes canon at the fifth at 'stella sole'⁴⁰.

Capilupi's Salve radix a8 (1603) treats the distinctive chant formula for the word 'salve' in

imitation for the first 14 bars of the motet, building to an exciting statement of the tonal answer starting on a'' in Cantus I.

Naldi's motet collection of 1600 includes four settings of Marian antiphons, for general use in Advent, Lent and at Easter; Alma Redemptoris a8 paraphrases the plainchant in ligatured semibreves (Ex. 4)⁴¹. The text of Ave Regina caelorum a12 is a close paraphrase of the antiphon for Compline during Quadragesima; the appended Versicle and Response is set by Naldi for the three Cantus parts in close canon, answered by the 12-voice ensemble in slow chords. The motet is characterized by the progressive shortening of individual choral statements: the first set of statements presented separately by the three equal-pitched choirs takes up a total of 16 bars, whilst the second set lasts only seven bars, culminating in a brief tutti at 'Domina Angelorum'; the procedure is repeated from 'Salve radix Sancta', which paraphrases the plainchant in the Cantus I and III lines, the latter echoing Cantus I's line a third higher, and which leads to a tutti at 'Gaude gloriosa' built on close canonic imitation of the three choral groups; the same constructional technique is used at 'valde decora'. The initial separate choral statements are based on a firm sense of harmonic development: Choir I's opening phrase establishes the F major tonic, Choir II modulates to C (via a pungent cadential augmented triad at 'Regina'), and Choir III proceeds to a half-close in D minor, before the quickened rate of antiphonal exchange takes the music to B flat for the first tutti. The Bassus lines often diverge from a shared unison or octave in the

tuttis, which results in a sombre sonority of low thirds and fifths.

As extra-liturgical texts honouring the Virgin appeared in the early 17th century, the influence of the chant waned, and composers relied for intensity of expression less on rich textures and slow-moving harmonies and more on the amorous musical imagery of the madrigal. Mortaro's O domina quae rapis corda hominum (1598) anticipates the intense devotion of early Baroque examples in its insistent repetition of motivic figures and the vivid text-portrayal.

vii) Motet-composition outside Venice

The stylistic development of the motet on the mainland is illustrated in the corpus of the prolific Tiburtio Massaino. His motet publications span more than thirty years, from 1576 to 1607, and constitute a fascinating document which demonstrates the trend from the assured, undemonstrative contrapuntal working of the Franco-Flemish style to the intense dramatic expression of the few-voiced stile moderno. He was aware of, and receptive to, the progressive features of sequential writing, especially in 'alleluia' phrases, incisive martial rhythms, structural refrains and extension of vocal range. His 1592 Sacri modulorum concentus reflect the trend both towards seven-voice motets, and towards large-scale settings instigated by the Gabrielis' 1587 Concerti, and the two collections of 1607 demonstrate how naturally the techniques which characterize his motets of the previous thirty years became the language of the new motet style.

In the first book of motets for five and six voices of 1576, there are already signs of the composer's progressive

attitude in the sequential 'alleluia' writing of Filiae Hierusalem (Ex. 5a) and Triumpharunt (Ex. 5b), in the syllabic repeated-note writing of Emendemus in melius (Ex. 5c) and the declamatory dotted rhythms of Quando nil superet (Ex. 5d). This latter motet is, like Vinci's Calliope colles (1572), set to a text which refers to the Muse (e.g. 'tibi Musa canendo'); it features black notation for 'nigro', in the madrigalian "eye-music" tradition, and a stylistically progressive second section.

The 1580 collection of motets for five equal voices was especially commissioned by the vicaress of the convent of Santa Trinità di Como. The motets are referred to as "Cantus" instead of as "Cantiones" in view, perhaps, of their explicit dual function as music not only for the church service but also for the private devotional entertainment for the young girls of the convent.⁴² The motets are appropriately for a high choir, the lowest part descending only infrequently to c. The third book of motets a5, published in 1590 when Massaino was director of the music at the Archbishop's chapel in Salzburg, includes several settings for the feasts of specific saints; there is much syllabic writing in the progressive Veni dilecte, and, in Decantabat, vigorous sequential 'alleluia' treatment (Ex. 5).

The Sacri Modulorum Conventus of 1592, for six, seven, eight, ten and twelve voices, includes a large proportion of settings a7. Characteristic use of sequence is evident in the 'alleluia' of Non turbetur, and in the declamatory dotted rhythm of Maria Magdalene (Ex. 7); incisive martial rhythms are used in Impetum inimicorum a6, and madrigalian word-painting in Beatus Laurentius of the phrases 'tormenta

tua' (by a long Cantus II melisma) and 'obscurum non habet' (by a change from black to white notation). The Concentus feature a wide vocal range, with the Cantus rising to a'' in Una est columba a9 and Vox dilecti al2.

The 1596 motets a6 include several examples of powerful sequential writing, in O Virgo Virginum (Ex. 8a), Adorna thalamum (Ex. 8b) and, especially, in Illumina oculos meos (Ex. 8c). In Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, the emphatic nature of 'fiat', in the context of God's majesty filling the whole earth, is represented by constant reiteration (Ex. 8d). The Cantus range in Isti sunt and Honora Dominum extends to a''.

In the two motet publications of 1607, Massaino's characteristic sequence procedure is exploited to the full: in the seven-voice collection, lively 'alleluia' patterns occur in Angelus Domini (Ex. 9a) and Petite accipietis (Ex. 9b), and pictorial use of sequence in Veni sponsa Christi (bars 63-65, 'coronaberis'). The style and structure of Veni sponsa Christi has been discussed more fully above in the context of refrain procedure (pp.154-155). The small-scale motets of Musica per cantare con l'organo for one, two and three voices are in a thoroughly modern declamatory style which makes full use of sequential writing and repeated-note recitation, notated either in individual values or in falsobordone. Tempus est and Benedicamus Patrem are particularly virtuosic, with extensive semiquaver figuration; Beatus vir qui inventus calls for a wide vocal range from the Bassus (a twelfth: F-c'). The demands on the singers are increased principally to realise the text's intensity: in Anima mea liquefacta est, for example, the dotted rhythms

of 'ei' throw the smooth rising line of the subsequent expressive phrase into sharper contrast (Ex. 10).

Massaino was using techniques which had been heard already in Wert's motets of 1566 and 1581⁴³, in which the Mannerist traits of Wert's madrigal style are absorbed into the motet-settings. The seven-voice motet of the 1590s owes much to the relatively early example of Wert's Egressus Jesus a7 (1581) in which contrasted vocal groupings are used to produce dramatic characterization. The forceful declamatory style of some motets in the 1566 publication (e.g. the opening of Omnis homo, and the parlando style of Speremus meliora omnes) and the use of sequential rhythmic patterns in the 1581 motet Providebam Dominum (e.g. bar 57: 'iucunditate') caused other composers such as Massaino to gradually transform the traditional imitative style into something with more immediate impact and urgency. Wert's rhythmic and textural treatment in the 1581 publication is often startlingly modern, as in the strong polarity between Bassus and two upper voices (e.g. Amen, Amen dico vobis, bar 27; Hoc enim sentite in vobis, bars 21-22 of Pars II) which looks forward to the duet-with-bass style of the early 1600s.

Massaino's motet-style was also influenced by the refrain technique and the reservata imagery of composers such as Vinci at Bergamo, although Massaino was less interested in chromatic linear and chordal novelties and more in developing rhythmic and structural interest. In this respect, his closest musical contact at Cremona, Ingegneri, could not provide the type of stimulus which he was seeking.

It is nevertheless interesting to compare two of the motets from Ingegneri's predominantly contrapuntal publication

a5 of 1576 - contemporary with Massaino's first motet collection - to see how the use of madrigalian techniques could make the textual expression more vital and intense. Surrexit Pastor bonus treats the opening joyfully melismatic subject imitatively, with tonal answer; the pathos of 'mori dignatus est' is reflected in the B flat colouring, 6-5 appoggiaturas and 7-6 cadential suspensions; the mood of the opening is, however, briskly reestablished by a six-bar 'alleluia' coda, which is repeated with Tenor and Quintus exchanged. Ave Jesu Christe exhibits strong madrigalian characteristics: the reverence of the opening phrase, transmitted in a sequence of suspensions, quickly gives way to A major colouring of 'dulcis' and 'dulcedo'; 'requies' is set to a static G minor chord prefaced by an isometric minim rest, and 'vita perennis' ('everlasting life') is extended by deliberately aimless contrapuntal working, before the direct chordal appeals of 'miserere nobis'.

Contrapuntal writing in the Franco-Flemish style was not superseded entirely by developments towards a more declamatory style. Elderly maestri such as Alberti and Porta still wrote in the imitative style with which they were familiar, and others, such as Porta's aristocratic pupil, Zallamella, indulged their aptitude for academic canonic procedure and intellectual experimentation. Alberti's 1594 motets, despite their late date of publication and setting a6, are the work of a composer steeped in the contrapuntal idiom.⁴⁴ Ad te levavi is typical of the conservative musical imagery of the collection (e.g. the rising minor sixth at 'levavi', and an ascending melisma at 'coelis'), and features a cantus firmus to the phrase 'In te Domine

speravi' which is worked in canon at the fifth throughout the piece.

Constanzo Porta's facility with complex contrapuntal procedures is strongest in his early publications, but evidence of his preoccupation is present even in the posthumous 1605 collection of motets a5.⁴⁵ Here, Porta's "academic enthusiasms have subsided" to a considerable degree and his main concern is to express the meaning of the text;⁴⁶ there are, indeed, elements of a more modern approach in the declamatory rhythm of the phrase 'Ecce qui tollit' in Ecce agnus, in the compressed part-writing of Aurem tuam, in the angular bass-line of Hodie nobis coelorum rex, and in the Bassus sequence (at 'et gloria') and reduced note-values of Surge illuminare, but the basis of Porta's style is still imitative, with canon, between Quintus and Bassus in Christus resurgens (at 'Quod autem'), and in Ave Virgo (at 'stella sole').

The variety of styles on the mainland is wider than in Venice itself, with often a considerable range of styles within each publication. Zallamella's Musica of 1582, for example, juxtaposes reservata indulgences with the popular warlike rhythms of Factum est silentium. The most contrived motet is Multifariam, the treatment of which is explained in a quasi-intellectual rubric: the imitative crotchet opening is followed by white minim homophony at 'Novissimae'.⁴⁷ Vidi turbam is based on a mensuration canon, with three time signatures in the Tenor. The expressive Song of Songs text in Osculetur prompts an A major harmony at 'fragrantia unguentes'. Versa est in luctum, for the commemoration of the birth of Virgins, is highly chromatic:

the vocal lines descend by semitones, and the resulting harmony touches on G flat at bar 13 (Ex. 11). This is admittedly an extreme example, but Pietro Vinci's 1572 motets a5 show a similar contrast of styles between the "occasional" motets and the liturgical examples.

Vinci had been appointed maestro at the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo in May, 1568; the motets a5 of the 1572 publication were the first that he had written for use in Bergamo, and had probably been compiled by mid-1571.⁴⁸ Many of the highly topical settings are madrigalian in their treatment: Plange urbs Bergamea, for the funeral of a respected Bergamasque citizen, features evocative E flat harmony on the initial word, and modern chromatic linear progression at the word 'Heros' (Ex. 12). Calliope colles is, in effect, a glorification of the city of Bergamo, with a text that invokes the authority of Calliope, Apollo and the nymphs as well as Christ himself; the self-conscious intellectualism of the style, unique in the collection, is displayed in the concentrated rhythmic activity, with frequent quaver, and occasional semiquaver, movement, (e.g. Quintus, bar 23; Cantus, bar 43);⁴⁹ there is involved cross-rhythm, harmonic movement by fifths, and chromatic movement by semitones (e.g. Altus, bar 39, 'tanta venustas', which falls through f', e', e' flat, d', c' sharp); the reference to Christ is pointed by isometric writing, with a prominent 9-8, 4-3 suspension progression in the Cantus. The Good Friday motet O crux benedicta achieves an intensity of mood through expert manipulation of drawn-out rhythms and suspensions:⁵⁰ the phrase 'Dulce lignum' conveys a sense of oppressive weight through the chain of suspensions

which includes a bass 1-2 and a $\frac{6}{4}$ (bars 15, 16); the rising motion of 'tu sola excelsior' is balanced by the falling line of 'In qua vita mundi pependit' which both takes the Cantus to its low register, and leaves the listener in suspense because of the following semibreve rest before the triple-time change of mood; the final reference to the pain of death is pointed by an evocative B major harmony (bar 45).

The trend in the 1590s towards settings for a greater number of voices resulted in motets which capitalized on the opportunity for broad dramatic gestures, which would have been ineffectual in fewer-voiced settings. Thus, in Orazio Vecchi's publications of 1590 and 1597, the fewer-voiced motets are light and madrigalian in style, whereas the ten-voice Beati omnes qui timent (1590) and the seven-voice Domine Dominus noster (1597) exploit the inherent contrasts of texture in a concertato manner. Vecchi's four-voice motets are more intimate in their expression: Velociter exaudi me, for example, imitates the urgency of the suppliant's plea in the close imitation, in small note-values, of the opening and closing sections, and the failing of his strength in the falling triads, aspirated with minim rests⁵¹; in Cantate Domino a4, the Bassus expresses rejoicing by means of a falling sequential pattern (Ex. 13); in Congratulamini a8, the same emotion is expressed in dotted crotchet rhythms (e.g. 'exultat', 'Iubilat'). The opening of Benedicite omnia opera a6 has a bright sonority, due to the high-pitched triadic writing in the upper voices; Osculetur me a6 borrows the madrigalian convention of black notation at the passage 'quia nigra sum'. Beati omnes

quitiment a10, scored for two choirs a5, treats the exclamation 'Ecce' in a dramatically vivid manner, by setting it for the individual voices of each choir to produce the effect of spontaneous, uncoordinated shouts from the crowd.⁵²

The mixing of diverse stylistic elements, the exploitation of a high Cantus tessitura (e.g. Misericordias domini a4) and the frequent employment of psalms as the basis for the texts of the 1590 collection are features continued in the 1597 publication a5, a6, a7 and a8. Plainchant is incorporated into Haec dies a5, where the cantus firmus is carried in the Bassus, and in the Marian antiphon Salve radix a6; the triple-time section of Exultate iusti incorporates a measured cantus firmus in the Octavus, as well as modern decorative melisma at 'in cithara' (Ex. 14). Vecchi's 1597 volume includes settings of Omnes gentes and Ave verum corpus by his colleague and successor at the cathedral at Modena, Gemignano Capilupi; Capilupi's own motet collection a6 and a8, of 1603, shows the strong influence of his mentor in the chiavette scoring and in the frequent grouping of the three highest voices into bright triads, often supported by a strong bass-line.

Although the Venetian large-scale motet-style was widely imitated by composers on the mainland, there remained a constant demand for more intimate settings which relied on delicate and subtle textual expression. This light, colourful, essentially madrigalian style, was, in its way, as important in creating the musical language of the early 17th century motet as were the developing structural techniques: the quickly changing moods and detailed word-painting of Ingegneri's Ave Jesu Christe of 1576 look forward to the

vivid expressiveness of the stile moderno.

viii) Venetian motet composition

The greater part of the sacred music written by composers active in Venice in the period was intended for performance either at S. Marco, or at churches associated with itinerant celebrations of its politico-liturgical commemorations. Music intended for other churches in the city and for private use is stylistically different to that for the S. Marco liturgy: Andrea Gabrieli's 1576 motets a4 and Croce's 1597 motets a4 are less-demanding technically than the rhythmically more intricate and texturally-rich settings designed to display at once the musical attributes of its widely-envied cappella and the authority and dignity of the principal officers of a powerful and proud Republic.

The subjectivity of the texts of the penitential psalms often inspired settings which are highly madrigalian in character. Andrea Gabrieli's Domine ne in furore (1583) represents the agitation of 'conturbatum est' by detailed quaver movement, and the evanescence of 'vanitatem' by a very short syllabic phrase, exaggerated in its effect both by the double echo produced by internal antiphony in the six-voice texture, and by its juxtaposition with the preceding languid falling phrase; this detailed pictorialism owes much to the reservata techniques of Lassus. Croce's seven penitential psalms were originally settings of vernacular texts, which were translated into Latin for the 1599 edition published in Nuremburg; they were not intended for liturgical use but rather as sacred madrigals to be performed in the home. The depiction of the text is extremely literal: in Domine ne in furore, 'rugit' ('roaring') is set to a

rolling sequential melisma, 'fremet' ('shuddering') to isometric syncopated rhythms, the loss of courage at 'reliquit' by a preceding rest, the lack of light ('non habet lumen') by black notation, and the bowing of the head by a falling melodic line ('ad me inclina'). De profundis commences with a dramatic octave plunge to the bottom of each voice's register, which results in a thick texture owing to the low fifths between the Bassus F's and the c's of the Quintus and Tenor; 'si gratia tua dignam putabis' is set to an unctuous chromatic descent. The pictorial immediacy of the penitential psalms had a considerable influence on the motet-settings to highly-subjective texts of the early Baroque; whilst the structural cohesion of the concertato style was derived principally from the application of refrain procedures, its emotional intensity stemmed from the refined elements of Mannerist expression exemplified in these settings.

Whereas the style of the motets of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli has received comprehensive analysis and appreciation elsewhere⁵³, it is revealing to examine the features of motet-setting in Venice through the publications of their less-celebrated contemporaries, Donato, Merulo, Croce and Bassano. The "Venetian" style of the 1580s and 1590s is characterized by a love of rich texture and warm sonorities enhanced by instrumental participation, downward extension of the Bassus range⁵⁴, a keen ear for verbal imagery and textual mood, a penchant for bouncing 'Alleluia' passages, a strong sense of rhythm and harmonic progression, and an instinct for melodic shape. Venetian composers were uncomfortable in textures of fewer than six voices, and most at ease in the eight-voice double-choir medium.

Donato's five-voice motets of 1599 have such a late publication-date not because there was a reversal of the trend at the very end of the century, but because the volume is a compilation of motets produced over a long period, intended as a tribute to the composer who was by then advanced in years⁵⁵, although there are some double-choir motets in a more modern idiom (e.g. the echo-piece Virgo decus), the motets a5 are stylistically the product of the previous generation and strongly reflect the idiom of Ingegneri's early motets. Iubilate Deo lacks the rhythmic sparkle of contemporary settings of laudatory texts, and the predominantly imitative dotted minim style makes for ponderous motivic development; the strict paired imitation and falling 6/3 progressions are reactionary features, as is the strongly modal feel of much of the piece; the more modern touches, of crotchet movement at 'exultatione', a four-bar triple-time section, and brief dialogue procedure at 'et usque', are transitory departures from the overall approach. In die tribulationis, set in the bleak Aeolian mode, features effective suspension treatment in the involved polyphonic development (e.g. Tenor 9-8 suspension at 'consolari'). The imitative procedure of Hei mihi Domine is less formal: the Bassus is extended down to E to accentuate the rich deep sonority, and there is direct chordal treatment, in isometric dotted minim movement, of the pleas 'ubi fugiam' and 'miserere mei', with inner antiphony between the upper four and lower four voices motivating the former phrase.

a) Merulo

The two books which comprise the 1578 collection of five-voice motets arrange the settings in the annual liturgical

cycle from Christmas and append settings of texts from each of the Communia Sanctorum at the end of the second volume, as well as a motet for general use on Sundays at the beginning of the second volume. Bastian notes that most of the texts are intended for use at Vespers, and a few for other canonical hours, such as Matins, and that three motets which use only the latter portion of the Antiphon texts may have been prefaced in performance by a changed version of the initial portion.⁵⁶

The motets are predominantly melismatic, though the vigorous triple-time sections create effective contrast and structural strength. Tribulationem et dolorem features a device frequently used later by Croce - the placing of a 6/3 dominant chord between two 5/3 tonics (e.g. 'et dolorem inveni'; 'miseretur').

The first book of motets a6 (1583) is generally more syllabic, although O sacrum convivium and Gaude sponsa chara Dei adopt a more conservative flowing style. The second book of motets a6 (1593) is, in fact, made up of 12 motets for six, and 13 motets for seven voices, the use of the seven-voice scoring being a common feature of publications of the 1590s. The settings are intended to be instrumentally supported, as the lowest part is outside the range of a vocal Bassus, and the title-page specifies performance as "per concerti, et per cantare". Although the collection was published after he had been at Parma for only two years, as organist at the ducal chapel, all the settings were, most probably, the fruit of his years at S. Marco, and are stylistically progressive. The bass-lines are far more independent and angular than in the

previous publications, with frequent dotted crotchet rhythms. There is a newly-awakened sense of verbal imagery: changes of mood in the text, however sudden or temporary, prompt immediate shifts in the musical approach; the contrast of 'quoniam tribular' and 'velociter exaudi me', for example, in Exaudi me, is realised in detail; the Bassus exploits its lowest register at 'de abysis terrae iterum'. The opening of Audi Domine hymnum is a highly effective chordal supplication, led by the Cantus. Laetabimur in salutari tuo demonstrates the typically sonorous, harmonically-rich, instrumentally-supported Venetian style;⁵⁷ although the motet opens with a closely-imitated rising fifth motive, the musical argument is, from bar 13, harmonically-inspired, with a strong broad fifths progression culminating in a rich 6/5 harmony on the first beat of bar 17; tertial relationships feature prominently, often in conjunction with a new vocal grouping: thus the shift at bar 36 is announced by the four lowest voices, and immediately contrasted with a return to A major in the three upper voices. The extended treatment of the closing phrase 'Dominus Christum suum' includes two milder shifts, from A minor to F. There is a predominance of low clefs; the Cantus never goes above b' and the Bassus often descends to C, with much use of the low-pitched thirds in tutti chording (e.g. Tenor, bars 23-24); the resulting effect, given the participation of tromboni, is one of great warmth of sonority.

b) Croce

Croce's style is characterized by a strong sense of tonality, clarity of texture and strong rhythmic drive, especially in settings where the verbal imagery is of a martial nature, as in Factum est silentium and Percussit

Saul, both in the eight-voice 1594 collection. Modern sequential patterns are common (Ex. 15). Deus misereatur commences with a highly declamatory plea which foreshadows the solo style of the 1610 Cantilene (Ex. 16). The most exuberant motet of the twin publication of 1595 is Buccinate in Neominia tuba which combines floridity of line with concitato rhythm⁵⁸: the swirling first motive gives way to triadic motives representing trumpet calls, and repeated-note phrases portraying the playing-technique of the instrument (Ex. 17a); the pithy four-note motive at 'jubilemus' is tossed from voice to voice as if the shout is being taken up in a crowd; the 'alleluia' passages receive detailed syncopated and sequential treatment (Ex. 17b), and the Bassus lines at times diverge into independent decorative figuration (Ex. 17c).

By contrast, the setting of O Jesu mi dulcissime is intensely devotional, using a wide range of musical metaphor to illustrate the text; Cantus I never goes above e'', and the second choir is pitched below the vocalis Choir I, as if to set, from the start, a mood of restraint and respect for the contemplation of the new-born Christ in the stable; the opening phrase is treated as a succession of suspensions, merging into a more urgent repeated-note figure at 'adoro te'; the low-pitched Choir II, which represents the lowliness of the crib, enters at 'O puer dilectissime', colouring the expression of devotion by a perfect cadence in E major, and stressing the adoration of the onlooker by repeating the direct chordal phrase 'adoro te' a tone higher, with the Cantus line taken over by the Tenor. The third of the vocative phrases, 'O Christe

rex pii⁵⁹ sime' is set a8, as in the settings by Giovanni Gabrieli⁵⁹, to signify the use of the plural, instead of the singular, verb ('adoramus'), which here gains its effect from the tertial shift from the E major cadence of the preceding phrase to a C major harmony; the cadence to this tutti passage has effective crotchet movement in the two Tenor lines. Whilst Croce does not go so far as to juxtapose chords with roots a third apart within the unity of the phrase, as Gabrieli does in his 1597 setting, he follows the lead of Merulo in exploiting the relationship between phrases (e.g. 'adoramus') and between complete choral statements, as in the shift from A major to F major harmony for Choir II's introduction of 'O mira'. The emotional climax of the setting, however, as in Gabrieli's settings of 1597 and 1615, is the tutti at the final vocative phrase 'O Divina ergo Proles', where, based on a strong fifths progression which starts in the preceding phrase for Choir I, the initial exclamation is isolated by isometric rests on either side of its D major harmony which is itself enriched by the Cantus II third being doubled at the octave in Tenor I. The triple-time section at 'ut veneremur' is an effective emotional relief in its confident I-V-I progressions and quick modulation to the relative major (C major); but even here, intensity of feeling is not far away, as the two choirs build an antiphonal sequence which takes the music through a swift circle of fifths from C to a perfect cadence in A minor, and as the section works to a climax by means of hemiola and echoing linear decoration, before the rhythmic tension is finally relieved in the common-time codetta. There is no attempt to introduce unifying

refrains into the setting, even in the triple-time section; the text itself provides its own framework, which allows Croce to concentrate his compositional energies on matching its emotional intensity in his musical treatment; this Croce does with a highly-developed sense of balance and pace, and without the least hint of self-indulgence. The characteristic use of the unelaborated suspended seventh, at 'commemorantem' (Choir I), 'praesepio iacentem' (Choir II), and 'singularis' (Choir I), typifies this economy of means which is the hall-mark of Croce's most effective settings. Whether Croce's setting of this text influenced Gabrieli's settings which appeared in the later publications is unknown: if, indeed, Croce's motet was composed prior to that of Gabrieli, the latter must have appreciated the sensibility of Croce's approach, and the considerable emotional effect of the piece as a whole.

O triste spectaculum features a bold unprepared dissonance between Altus I and Cantus I in the repeated closing section (Ex. 18)⁶⁰ and delays the entry of the Altus II's falling fourth at 'plangite'. The 1601 motets a5 are less progressive than the 1594/1595 settings a8, with predominant minim movement; Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas hints at sequential rhythmic procedure at 'atque indivisa' (Ex. 19); the closing triple-time 'alleluia' of Hodie completi sunt is an extended sequence (Ex. 20). The posthumous 1610 Sacrae Cantilene Concertate are the natural stylistic successors to the 1594/1595 motets a8, with exciting modern sequential construction (e.g. Quasi stella matutina: 'et quasi luna' and 'oliva pullulans').

c) Bassano

The festal motets of the two books of 1598 and 1599 possess at once a strength of harmonic progression and construction, and a sense of melodic charm and spontaneity. Omnes gentes a8 (1599) relies for its effect not on a well-defined sense of formal structure or chromatic highlighting (the E flat harmony at 'exaltationes' is not used as a "colour" chord, but as a modulatory pivot towards the strong cadence in the relative major key (B flat)); Bassano instead concentrates on exploiting the potential of overlapping antiphonal dialogue in the two equally-pitched choirs to produce an impression, especially so in a resonant acoustic, of a great throng of worshippers; Choir II answers at the distance of only a semibreve in the opening bar, after which the distance is extended to a breve, only to be shortened once more at 'in iubilo', 'in voce tubae' and 'psallite'. The tuttis are built either on fifths progressions (which are commenced in a previous single-choir phrase (e.g. 'terram/subiecit populos nobis')) or on strong I-V-I or I-IV-V-I formulas. The rhythmic treatment, especially in the tuttis, is very exciting: the isometric dotted crotchet movement in all eight voices at 'subiecit populos' is more incisive for being syncopated; the isometric tutti hiatus of a crotchet rest between 'in iubilo' and 'dominus' is a startling and extreme example of the typically Venetian rhythmic drive which is usually more closely associated with 'alleluia' sections; the rhythm of Choir I's continuous phrase 'plaudite manibus Iubilate Deo' is inspired by the verbal imagery (Ex. 21).

Quem vidistis (1598) employs similar choral antiphony

at 'dicite' as well as vigorous syncopated 'alleluia' passages.⁶¹ The use of the isometric rest is effective in depicting the spectator at the Crucifixion drawing breath in shock at the inhumanity of the scene at Choir I's phrase 'felle et aceto' in O Domine Jesu Christe (1598). Bassano exploits the seven-voice scoring of Hodie Christus natus est (1598)⁶² as a proto-concerto disposition, with the three high voices contrasted against the lower four, though without the formal sectionalization or stylistic differentiation of Massaino's 1607 or Croce's 1610 publications.

ix) The influence of the 1587 Concerti on composers on the mainland

It was natural that other churches throughout the terraferma and in neighbouring provinces should wish to emulate the music-making in S. Marco, and that composers should attempt to imitate the scale and quality of such publications as the 1587 Concerti and the 1597 Sacrae Symphoniae, which typify the grandeur of the musical provision at the basilica. It is not just coincidence, therefore, that, in the space of a few years after the appearance in print of the 1587 Concerti, there appeared a number of publications including or comprising motets set for up to 16 voices: Ingegneri's 1589 collection of motets a7, a8, a9, a10, a12 and a16; Trombetti's motets for five to twelve voices, also published in the same year; Asola's 1590 composite collection a12 of five motets, Vespers psalms and Magnificats, Marian antiphon and mass; Massaino's 1592 motets a6, a7, a8, a9, a10 and a12; Girolamo Belli's 1594 collection of ten-voice motets and Magnificat and eight-voice mass; and Banchieri's 1595 Concerti ecclesiastici a8.

Arnold observes that the 1587 Concerti "create a new world of sound which no lively modern could henceforward ignore"⁶³; the recreation of this distinctive sound-world and the style of the pieces themselves must have posed problems, nowever, for their imitators. Performance of the Concerti at S. Marco involved the participation of a highly-skilled group of instrumentalists as well as a vocal force more competent than any other in North Italy; the positioning of the performers in the pulpitum magnum cantorum (i.e. the hexagonal pergolo) or the pulpitum novum lectionum⁶⁴ could not always be reproduced exactly in other churches; above all, the style of the music itself, much of which cannot be performed without the cornetti playing the highest voices and tromboni the lowest voices, or considerable vocal expertise in pitching of notes and executing detailed rhythmic patterns.

The most important factor, however, in the polychoral motets is that of Andrea's approach to the spezzato idiom: Willaert's principle of ensuring the harmonic completeness of each choral group is largely disregarded by Gabrieli, whose motet style (which incorporates that of the Magnificat and mass-movements) is more influenced both by that of Lassus's festal and occasional double-choir motets, in which the motivation for the spezzato technique is not the antiphonal verse-structure of the psalm, but, rather, a formidable aural imagination⁶⁵, and by the earlier double-choir psalms of native Italians, such as Ruffino, which feature real eight-part writing in the tuttis as well as use of isometric rests to give added emphasis to tutti entries.⁶⁶ Lassus's breadth of musical conception is a quality that inspires the polychoral structures of both Gabrielis; Giovanni

follows the stylistic lead of his uncle in putting considerations of sonority and musical effect above those of harmonic completeness of each choral group, and it is significant that, of Giovanni's 1597 motets, only in seven are the choirs harmonically self-sufficient.⁶⁷

A factor of almost equal significance is the liberation of the spezzato idiom from the regularity of the antiphonal interchange; although many double-choir settings of psalms by composers in the terraferma do not adhere rigidly to the verse-structure, expanding or contracting a musical statement on the basis of pictorial or purely musical criteria, the general practice in the 1570s and early 1580s is of steady, unhurried antiphony between two equal choirs, a style which is also characteristic of the motets of the same period. The only composer in the region who anticipates Andrea's characteristic polychoral procedure of quick exchanges between choirs, use of varying lengths of phrases, and wide use of contrasting clef combinations is Chamaterò, in the 1573 psalms and 1575 Magnificats. Prior to the appearance of Andrea's polychoral motets, the use of contrasting clef combinations is rare; composers found the treatment of equal-pitched choirs easier, even though it often resulted in rather bland settings, such as Pratoneri's Hodie Virgo Maria of 1584. By contrast, Andrea writes for three choirs in Deus misereatur - high, medium and low in their relative clef combinations; some motets extend the range of a choir into the higher registers (e.g. Exsurgat Deus; Jubilare Deo), whilst others extend the range downwards using the rare F5 clef (e.g. Exultate; Benedicam); only one of the motets, Egredimini, is scored for equal-pitched choirs.⁶⁸

No motet in the 1587 collection is scored for less than six voices; Giovanni's entire motet output includes no settings for fewer voices.

The imitator of the 1587 Concerti was therefore faced with a daunting task: to write in a style which was rhythmically exciting, involved essentially dramatic use of antiphonal technique, gave scope to idiomatic treatment of cornetti and tromboni, provided kaleidoscopic effects of harmony and of vocal and instrumental timbre, and which was informed above all by a musical integrity and imagination of a high order. Ingegneri's eight-voice motets of 1589 are less rhythmically involved than the 1587 Concerti⁶⁹: Canite tuba and O pretiosum are thoroughly homophonic, with no variation of texture or redesignation of voice; Duo seraphim treats 'clamabant' and 'gloria eius' in closely-detailed counterpoint, with resulting incisive syncopation. It is in the motets al2 that the quick retorts and climactic grandeur of the Gabrielian idiom is most influential: in Cantate et psallite Domino, Ingegneri treats 'narrate' as a dramatic interjection, 'omnia mirabilia' as a powerful tutti, and repeats the phrase 'quia mirabilia' twice to create a threefold coda; Emendemus in melius creates an incisive interjection from the phrase 'ne subito', and similarly repeats the closing phrase 'quia peccavimus tibi' for climactic effect; 'Ecce venit' treats the phrase 'gaudete et exsultate' as a refrain. Vidi speciosam splits its sixteen voices into a proto-concertato format of one a4 - probably of four soloists - and two choirs - probably ripieno each a6 - and features typical Gabrielian climax-building with close antiphony between the three groups and high (instrumental) a'' notes in choirs

II and III. The preface specifies performance with a variety of instruments ("cum variis Musicis Instrumentis concini possunt").

Trombetti's 1589 collection of motets, set for five to twelve voices, is an amalgam of progressive traits, designed to impress by its diversity of style. Six motets are indicated as requiring instrumental participation⁷⁰: Iubilate Deo a8 descends to D and Misericordiae tuae to C. Textual representation is vivid: Timete Dominum opens with a motive which outlines a diminished fourth, implying hesitancy; loose sequential procedure is used in Paratum cor meum, at 'cantabo', and in Regna terrae, at 'Deo' (Ex. 22); the reference to trumpets in Iubilate Deo a10 is pointed by a broken triad enlivened by a turn; in Misericordiae, the phrase 'Multi qui persequuntur me' is represented by successive entries of the three choirs culminating in a tutti. Iubilate Deo a8 lacks a sense of unity and purpose, with the result that the setting becomes a patchwork of isolated, undeveloped motives/^{and} arbitrary Cantus figuration (e.g. the isolated dotted descent at 'illi'; the rising scale at 'veritas'). The Gabrielian touches are present: syncopation at 'exultatione' in Choir II, close antiphony at 'Scitote', a pictorial tutti at 'Populus eius' with inner syncopation (Ex. 23a), evocative E flat colouring combined with a thick low texture (Ex. 23b), and pictorial antiphonal repetition of 'in aeternum' and 'et usque in generatione'; the Gabrielian drive and sense of logical growth - the underlying motivating forces - are, however, lacking in Trombetti's setting.

Although the vogue for large-scale motets characterized

the last decade of the century, the trend at its turn was already towards few-voiced settings with attractive cantilena melodic writing. Polychoral settings did not lose their public appeal, as the number of reprintings of Croce's eight-voice motets of 1594 and 1595 show, and the large-scale motet was to remain popular as a genre in Rome well into the 17th century; composers in North Italy, however, were constantly experimenting throughout the period with subtly changing ways of selecting and expressing their texts, and the same process of adaptation which led to the establishment of the six-voice texture in the early 1580s, and the seven-voice texture in the latter part of the decade, contemporary with the emergence of a more varied and adventurous spezzato style, caused composers to reassess the effectiveness of the large-scale medium in realising the more intimate expressiveness which was coming into fashion. This process happened throughout the region: Mortaro's motets a3 of 1598, Fattorini's I sacri concerti a2 of 1600, Viadana's Concerti of 1602, Massaino's Musica per cantare con l'organo of 1607 and Croce's Sacre cantilene, posthumously published in 1610, are all manifestations of the same trend. The output of some composers, inevitably, lagged behind the current developments; Canali, for example, was writing small-scale motets a4 in the 1570s and 1580s, and only experimented with the six-voice medium as late as the 1603 publication. It was in the two- and three-voice motets, rather than the four-voice medium, that the new expressiveness found its voice; four-voice motets of the late 16th century are almost exclusively conservative in style and expression, and even Viadana's four-voice

Concerti are less progressive than his settings a3. An assured solo motet style was not achieved in Viadana's Concerti, however, and Massaino's Musica per cantare served to further the development of the style to its maturity in the second decade of the 17th century. Thus, in the motet output of just one composer, we see a ready exemplar of the musical development of the genre from the restrained rhythmic and imitative procedure of the 1570s to the emotional, declamatory style of the early Baroque motet: the transition to the new motet style was an evolutionary, not a revolutionary, process in which the chrysalis emerged already possessing the characteristics of its parents, but in a new form.

CHAPTER VI

MUSIC FOR OTHER CEREMONIES, AND FOR COMPLEMENTARY USE IN THE MASS AND OFFICES

The provision of choral settings of items of the liturgy for the Office of the Dead, for the Office of Holy Week, for the Litany, and for hymns and Propers, varied according to the emphasis within a particular institution and according to the inclinations of the individual composer. Thus, the publications of Baccusi are limited to the three major musical categories - of mass, psalm and Magnificat, and motet; those of the two composers of importance at Brescia during the period - Antegnati and Mortaro - are similarly limited to predominantly large-scale settings of these types; the output of the Gabrielis is geared to the need of the S. Marco basilica for large-scale pieces in which liturgical propriety is a minor consideration relative to their function as vehicles for occasional and ostentatious use¹. By contrast, Asola's musical qualities and sympathies are perhaps most apparent in the wide range of settings which he made for the less common or potentially less spectacular areas of the liturgy which were still appropriate for musical rendition.

i) The Office of the Dead

A third of all the known settings of the Requiem Mass in the Renaissance are by North Italian composers; their settings, unlike those of the majority of composers outside the region, consistently include the Introit, Kyrie, Sequence, Offertory, Sanctus, Agnus Dei and Communion; the presence of the Sequence is almost unique to North Italian settings, and is often very madrigalian in style (e.g. Giulio Belli's 1599

setting a4, where 'Pie Jesu' is set to successive harmonies of D, G and E, which are the base for the evocative rising chromatic progression in the Cantus². Mass-settings are most often published as the last of a set of orthodox masses (e.g. the mass-publications a5 of 1586 and 1597 of Giulio Belli end with a missa pro defunctis). Settings of the Mass throughout the period are tied closely to the cantus firmus, stated most often in the Tenor; imitative treatment of the plainchant is a common feature at the openings of movements.

Asola's settings of the mass of 1576, and his settings of the complete Office of 1586, 1588 and 1593, are all for four voci pari, a deliberately direct and sober vocal grouping; a setting for a second choir to the 1576 mass is an optional provision. The effect of the close vocal disposition is complemented by the homophonic style, with emphatic isometric writing at significant phrases: in the 1586 mass 'Ingemisco' is stated in strict chords to accentuate the pathos of the statement. Pictorial representation is limited in the 1586 mass to relatively strict imitative treatment of 'Confutatis maledictis'. The 1593 Office, which again is mainly homophonic, with an angular Bassus, extends the scope of textual depiction by occasional modern descriptive imagery (Ex. 1), and also introduces evocative harmonic colour, with E flats at 'exacerbatione' and an A major harmony at 'illud et aridam'. This selective use of madrigalian musical imagery must have contributed to the considerable popularity of the 1593 Office, with four reprintings to 1621. The very small format of the 1593 publication was of practical benefit in facilitating ease of singing in procession.

Viadana's settings of the Office of 1600 and 1604 are in an even more succinct homophonic style, similarly relieved by descriptive musical imagery. Example 2 illustrates the isometric approach, and the intensity achieved in the four-voice texture through evocative harmonic shifts. The 1604 publication lacks the scope of settings of motets and responsories for Vespers, Matins and Lauds, and two settings of the Litany which are contained in the earlier volume, limiting the settings to motets and responsories for Matins and the mass. The musical style is thoroughly modern, with falsobordone verses in 'Venite exultemus' and in 'Requiem aeternam'; the 1604 psalm Domine ne in furore a5 is an interesting example of more elaborate recomposition of the 1600 setting - with the same Bassus, but with a higher, more florid Cantus.

ii) The Office of Holy Week

The dramatic potential of the principal musical ingredients in Holy Week - the Passions at Mass, and the Lamentations at Tenebrae - was most readily exploited by the North Italian composers of the period. The simple declamatory homophonic style of settings of the entire text by Nasco, Rore and Ruffo was superseded initially by polyphonic settings of the introduction, conclusion, and crowd responses. North Italians such as Contino, Isnardi, Canali and Asola composed settings which added the dimension of polyphonic composition to the statements of minor characters, whilst the further continuation of musical characterization in the setting both of the words of the minor characters and of Christ in distinct vocal groupings was pursued by Ruffo, in the St. John Passion of c.1570, by Asola in the St. John Passion of 1583, by Falconio in the four

Passions published at Brescia in 1580, and by Clinio's four Passions of 1595. This last type allows striking contrasts between the distinct vocal groupings to be achieved and reflects the influence of both the polychoral idiom and the dialogue motet. Falconio's Passions were available in three separate publications, so that maestri could select from, if necessary, music for the exordium and evangelium a5, the turbarum voces a4 in alternatively full or equal voice disposition, or for the voces Christi a3. Clinio's St. Luke Passion concludes with a tour de force by combining the three-voice vox Christi, the four-voice grouping for the individual minor characters, and the six-voice turba in an impressive 13-voice climax.

The turba passages in the North Italian Passions often have vigorous dotted rhythmic treatment at the shouts of 'Barabam', 'crucifige' and 'crucifigatur'.

Asola is alone in providing comprehensive musical settings for the liturgy of Holy Week: the publications of 1583 and 1595 contain items for Mass and the 1584 publication - complementary to the 1583 volume - gives settings for Tenebrae. The music for the Good Friday procession exemplifies his fine judgement of the effect of breve chording, appoggiatura, suspension and gentle chromaticism in eliciting pathos (Ex. 3). The Lamentations and Improperia of 1588 are for modest vocal resources, and are typical of Asola's readiness to furnish settings to order and for small, or no financial gain³. The close three-voice texture is homophonic and harmonically undemonstrative, with more flowing settings of the Hebrew letters, according to Renaissance tradition; word-painting is limited in the Second Lesson of Holy Saturday to a brief

sequence at 'dispersi sunt lapides' and a bleak succession of 9-8 and 4-3 cadential suspension in the Cantus at 'deserto' (Ex. 4a); considerable weight is given to the closing 'Ierusalem' section by the slow isometric rhythm (Ex. 4b).

The sobriety of Asola's 1588 publication is equalled in the 1587 Lamentations of Orazio Vecchi, usually extrovert and inventive, who states his allegiance to the spirit of Trent at considerable length in the dedication to the Bishop of Modena. He is obviously worried that his public may assume that he has lost his contrapuntal prowess, and asserts the, by then, current musical philosophy in liturgical composition that an intelligible, clear, simple setting, with sentimento (feeling), is preferable to cold, elaborate scholastic artifice⁴. The setting for four equal voices is in a direct homophonic style, with falsobordone insertions in the verses of the lectiones, with movement at the phrase-ends; the Hebrew letters are still treated more elaborately, however. The Stabat Mater is semi-schematic, with verses 1-6 set in simple chording of long note-values, and the remaining verses being sung to one or more of the specimen settings⁵. Croce's 1603 and 1610 settings and Massaino's 1599 setting similarly exploit falsobordone in the lectiones, and exploit the recurring 'Hierusalem' sections as musical refrains, giving structural cohesion, in settings which are thoroughly modern in style. Massaino's delight in sequence is apparent in the treatment of the letter 'Daleth'. Croce's treatment of 'Plorans ploravit' in the 1603 setting looks backwards stylistically to the settings of earlier North Italians: Contino's 1561 Lamentations have very similar chromatic colouring of F sharp and E flat in the identical passage as well as the E flat colouring at

'lacrimae'; Contino's unusual 7-5 suspension makes the moment even more poignant than Croce's conventional 7-6 (Ex. 5). Fonghetti's setting a3 of 1595 relies for its effect largely on such continuously involved suspension treatment rather than on clarity of texture (Ex. 6).

Isnardi's 1584 setting stresses the text by expressive reservata harmonic imagery: 'Mutatus est color' touches on an A flat major harmony - remote from the transposed Dorian base (Ex. 7a); 'virgines meae' is coloured by a rising semitone in the Tenor; the second 'Ierusalem' of Lectio II of the Third Day cadences on an A major chord (Ex. 7b).

Macri's 1597 setting introduces the dimension of contrast of vocal groupings, alternating small forces with larger groups for the 'Hierusalem' refrains; a gradual increase of voices in use, from five to a total of 13 by Holy Saturday, takes place. The hymn-settings make use of the polychoral effect by alternating the verses between separate choirs.

iii) The Litany

The Marian, and to a lesser extent, general Litanies were popular with composers of the region from the 1580s and increased in popularity and grandeur from the turn of the century, complementing the increasing number of emotive settings of Marian texts in motet publications.

A litany by Porta was published in 1580; Asola provided schematic settings of the general and Marian litanies in 1584; in 1590 the Milanese composer Bona provided four-voice settings of the litanies of the Virgin, of St. Francis, and St. Antony of Padua which are expanded into falsibordoni a8⁶; a five-voice litany by Ratti at Padua appeared in 1594.

The inherent alternatim procedure of the invocation-response structure of the Litany inspired the double-choir settings by Giulio Belli: his 1600 setting is published as part of a motet-volume, whilst his 1605 setting and nine-voice 1607 setting (for two choirs a4 and a5) are contained in collections of music for Compline. Merulo's Litany of 1609 was published with two mass-settings and Girolamo Belli's five-voice Litany with psalms and Magnificats.

iv) The Office Hymn

Hymns for the Offices were most commonly issued as self-contained collections.⁷ Hymn-settings were also incorporated with sets of Vespers psalms (e.g. Asola, 1575; Girolamo Belli, 1585), and, in the case of Vecchi's Pange lingua of 1590, were used as motet-texts. The stylistic approach is largely governed by the presence of the paraphrased plainchant in one (usually the Tenor) or more voices, and by the alternatim structure of odd-numbered plainsong verses and even-numbered polyphonic verses, in which academic contrapuntal working is common.

Asola's 1575 hymns are perhaps the most sombre and functional of the period. Their style is syllabic, with optional voci pari texture resulting from the downward transposition of the Cantus line to become a second Tenor part. His Vespers hymns of 1581 feature more contrapuntal development: in verse 4 of Deus tuorum militum the Tenor and added Cantus II are in canon at the octave, the extra Cantus part creating a high

bright sonority, especially where the Altus is moving in parallel sixths; the second verse of Ave maris stella ('Sumens illud Ave') begins in double counterpoint, and the final polyphonic verse features a canon at the octave in a vocal texture expanded to six voices with an extra Bassus.

Zacharia's 1594 hymns rely for their effect on elaborate contrapuntal display: verses 2 and 6 of Christi redemptor in double counterpoint with, in the latter, a free Altus which states a pseudo-cantus firmus progression in even notes, with curious juxtaposition of E natural and E flat as an element of the vocal line. The plainsong itself is lightly decorated and migratory: in verse 4 the Altus takes over the cantus firmus from the Quintus. The cantus firmus's modality is deliberately disguised at the outset of the final polyphonic verse by an initial subdominant harmony. The same technique is applied in the final verse of Pontio's Vexilla Regis of 1596 which starts in the subdominant area to provide a contrast to the F major openings of verses 1 and 3 (Pontio sets the odd-numbered verses in polyphony); the cantus firmus in the last verse is chromatically altered (by notated and implied sharpened F's) to create a consistent feeling of G minor as a strong tonic throughout the verse, instead of the conjunction of F major and G minor, as in previous verses. Pontio's cantus firmus is stated in the Cantus in verses 1 and 3; in verse 5, in triple time, the plainchant disappears during the chordal opening, re-emerging in the Cantus, closely imitated in the Bassus for the remainder of the verse.

The Cantus was increasingly entrusted with the paraphrased plainsong towards the end of the century. Ingegneri's 1606

hymns, published posthumously, are direct, four-voice chordal settings in the reformed manner, and reflect this trend⁸. An exception is Lucis Creator in which the undecorated plain-song migrates in the third section of the verse to the Bassus, with the Cantus in parallel tenths above (an interesting solution to a Bassus cantus firmus also adopted by Vecchi), and in the fourth section to the Tenor. Ingegneri sets only the first verse of each hymn: the subsequent verses could quite easily be adapted to the initial scheme. Each line of the verse is separated from the next by a well-defined cadence and a sectional bar-line, an exception being Christe redemptor which substitutes commas for the bar-lines. The chordal style and mode of Tibi Christe splendor Patris create circumstantial resemblances with the 1610 setting of Ave maris stella by his pupil Monteverdi (e.g. the crotchet figure in the Cantus, bar 14; the dotted rhythm in the Bassus, bar 16). The metre of the hymns often changes from triple to common or vice versa: Tristes erant is in triple time apart from the last phrase; Exultet coelum has an initial phrase in common time.

Vecchi's eight-voice hymn-motet Pange lingua resembles Lassus's setting of the same text, in which the verses are treated in a loose contrapuntal style, but with a plainchant 'Amen'. Vecchi's motet is, however, strophic, though only the text of the odd-numbered verses is provided in the print; the plainchant is paraphrased in the imitative opening but fades thereafter⁹. This individual setting exudes sensitivity and religious fervour, which is heightened by the strong tonal leaning from the Dorian mode to its modern D minor equivalent, most dramatically in the lower Bassus in bar 2, and by the

movement to the dominant area at bar 23. The hybrid form allows Vecchi to explore the harmonic outline suggested by his loose paraphrase, but, at his own pace. The *tutti*s are not as rhythmically vigorous as in polychoral settings, but serve to enhance the intensity of the text; individual inner parts do nevertheless provide effective rhythmic movement (e.g. the Tenor at bar 15, and the Quintus' gentle dotted rhythm in the closing five bars).

The *Te Deum* replaced the last responsory of *Matins* on feast-days and Sundays, but was also used as a hymn of thanksgiving on special occasions, such as victory in the war or cessation of plague. Its setting could be *responsorial* (in which alternate verses were set to polyphony as was the custom with settings of *Vespers* hymns), *through-composed* (in which case contrast in the long text could be achieved by sectionalization with varying vocal groupings¹⁰, or a paraphrase set as a *motet*, with the cantus firmus in an inner part.¹¹ The text could be adapted as a veneration of the Virgin (e.g. '*Te Matrem Dei laudamus*').¹²

Towards the end of the 16th century North Italian composers began to produce measured settings of the *Te Deum*, but for use outside its proper liturgical position: at *Terce*, which preceded the celebration of the Mass, for use at the Mass itself, or at *Vespers*; it was intended as a musical act of thanksgiving and was often set in impressive double-choir style. Asola's 1586 setting of the *Te Deum* is *responsorial*, with optional second choir in place of the plainsong recitation: like Croce's eight-voice setting of 1596, it is included in a publication of psalms for *Terce*. Giulio Belli's *Te Deum* a5 is included in a set of *Vespers* psalms of 1598, whereas Balbi's setting a8 (1605) is part of a collection of masses and motets.

v) Propers for Mass and Vespers

The Proper most commonly set was the Introit. Introits for use at Mass were published either as a self-contained set, or in conjunction with the appropriate mass-setting. The most comprehensive set of Propers for a specific mass is that for the Common of the Virgin for the second mass of Canali's 1588 publication: Canali here sets the Introit, Alleluia, Offertory and Communion with plainchant cantus firmus in Bassus or Tenor, and concludes the cycle with the motet Deo gratias with a fifth voice in canon. Asola pairs the Introits and Alleluias for all feasts throughout the year in his 1583 publication; the two-volume set of Introits of 1598 separates those for Sundays, Aspersion and Benediction from those for feasts.

The remaining Propers were very often replaced by free motet settings, or by instrumental items.¹³ Canali's mass for the feast of Pentecost includes a setting of the Introit, but substitutes freer motets for the remaining Propers; the final motet sets the text of the Communion Proper Factus est repente. Gratiani's 1587 12-voice mass sequence adopts a similar procedure. Vecchi's Easter mass, published posthumously in 1607, includes settings of the Introit and Gradual, complemented by free motet settings of texts for the Offertory, Elevation and a concluding motet in place of the Deo gratias.¹⁴

A feature common to many Proper settings is the presence of the cantus firmus in the Bassus.¹⁵ This custom created compositional problems which were solved with varying degrees of success. Theoretical advice in contemporary manuals is often stylistically reactionary¹⁶; the approach adopted in practice was to allow the upper voices in the texture melismatic freedom, with loose imitation of the plainchant only at the beginning of a section. This is demonstrated in Lambardi's antiphon Propers for Vespers of 1597, and in Quintiani's 1599 Introits:

the texture of the Introit for the mass of the Vigil of Christmas Day¹⁷ is aimlessly melismatic and poorly-defined through the lack of provision of rests for the singers; only three brief loosely-imitated motives - at 'Dixit ad me' (bars 1-2), 'ego hodie (bars 18-20), and 'et in saecula' (bars 44-5) - give any definite purpose to the setting. Quintiani's tonal and modulatory development is severely limited by the presence of the cantus firmus in the Bassus: the chant of the Introit for the mass of the Vigil features recurring F's which make the harmony static, and leaps of a third, which induce a reactionary modal feel; the problem of producing a satisfactory cadence-formula is side-stepped, as, instead of prolonging the final note of each section of the chant and dispelling the modal implications of F-D or C-D by extended elaboration on the finalis by the upper voices, Quintiani merely adds a perfect cadence after the plainchant has run its course - a device which reduces the integrity of his unaccidentalized statement of the chant itself.

A solution to the problem is found in Ingegneri's hymn Lucis Creator (see above), and in the Gradual Haec dies of Vecchi's Easter mass. Vecchi presents the plainchant in the Bassus part of the two four-voice choirs, in combination with a descant in Cantus II in consecutive tenths throughout;¹⁸ the remaining voices loosely imitate three independent motives, with Cantus I rising three times to high a" to create the brilliant sonority characteristic of Vecchi.

Vecchi's Introit presents the plainchant in the Septimus, with brief falsobordone recitation in the tutti in the doxology: the normal texture is one of dense contrapuntal working in the seven free voices, independent of the plainchant motive,

motivated by compressed imitation, crotchet melisma, sequential dotted rhythm and involved cross-rhythm. The free motet-substitutes for the Offertory and Elevation are thoroughly modern in expression, the former with an infectious 'Alleluia' refrain, repeated with choirs reversed, the latter with highly-charged intensity resulting from linear chromaticism, "Neapolitan" harmonic relationship and effective dissonance treatment. The final Proper-substitute is a lively triple-time strophic hymn, which replaces the Deo gratias.

The spiritual fervour of the North Italian region which characterized the latter half of the 16th century was the primary influence in the extensive provision of measured settings for the more sombre Offices and for the Litany. The Tridentine spirit pervades the simple yet intense voci pari settings of the Office of the Dead and the Lamentations, and the piety of the age is reflected in the increase in the number of settings of the Marian litany for devotional use in confraternities. Thus it is no coincidence that Asola, the most devout of North Italian composers, provided the most comprehensive range of settings for these specific rites and Offices.

Hymns and introits were primarily vehicles for contrapuntal working, and thoroughly imitative settings were common until the end of the century, mostly in publications by minor figures who were more at ease with conservative methods of clothing the plainchant.

The more extrovert of the composers of the period tended to concentrate on music for the main Offices which had more potential for flamboyant expression, either from choice, or because there was no demand by their superiors

for measured settings for the more sombre rites. When Orazio Vecchi sets the Lamentations, for example, their restrained style is out of character musically; later, ironically, progressive composers such as Massaino and Croce are attracted to the text because of its possibilities for refrain procedure.

This experimentation and realisation of musical potential within liturgical forms is a hallmark of North Italian composers. Just as North Italian coro spezzato technique, for example, evolves from alternatim liturgical performance, so the Passions become vehicles for dramatic musical characterization and polychoral climaxes.

CHAPTER VII

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

i) The performance of choral music

a) The role of the organist

The first printed bass-part specifically intended for the use of an accompanying organist was published in 1594 as a separate part-book to Croce's eight-voice motets. The publisher, Vincenti, had a strong commercial sense for useful novelties - he had issued, in 1585, the first self-contained publication of psalms in the falsobordone idiom and, in 1591, Spirindio's organ intavolature of ricercars, canzonas and toccatas - and he realised that the effort involved for the organist in transcribing, or reading at sight from two or more part-books could be obviated by the provision of a specially-printed basso seguente¹. In the following year, 1595, Vincenti published Banchieri's eight-voice Concerti ecclesiastici with a spartitura for the organ, derived from the Bassus and Cantus of Choir I; the printed provision of both these outer voices was, like Croce's single-line organ part, exceptional for the time, and was not repeated in later sets of Banchieri's church music. The use of the two-voice outline was later encouraged by Banchieri in his Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo because of its notation of accidentals and exposed thirds and tenths²: this procedure was followed by Massaino in his 1607 motet volume. The organ part-books to Lauro's double-choir masses of 1607, and to Gastoldi's eight-voice mass and motets of the same year, help the organist further by providing transcriptions of the reduced sections for three and four voices, such as the 'Christe' and 'Crucifixus', whilst the more straightforward

harmonies of the *tuttis* are indicated by the usual single bass-line. Mortaro's Missa Erano i capei d'oro (1599) has a four-part score provided for the 'Crucifixus' section alone (see Plate XI).

These separate organ part-books were not, however, an indication of a new trend in the performance of liturgical music, but a codification of existing practice. Organists habitually accompanied the choir except in Advent and Lent and, as the records of S. Antonio, Padua, show, each subdivision of the choral whole was supported by its own instrument. Organists would have been expected either to play from the Bassus part-book, or to make their own scores, by compiling the information from the part-books into a rough manuscript³; indeed, such a manuscript transcription, with written-out text cues, is preserved in the Bologna set of the 1600 reprint of Gastoldi's 1592 Vespers psalms⁴.

Once the practice of providing a labour-saving part-book for the convenience of the organist had been established, it was natural that other printers would follow Vincenti's lead to prevent him gaining too much commercial advantage; thus, many reissues of double-choir publications which had initially appeared without a basso seguente part-book, were, from the early years of the 17th century, augmented by such a provision⁵.

Scores of single-choir pieces were used in the main by student organists: Finck in 1556 considered musicians who transferred pieces onto paper inept. Theoretical works, such as Lampadius' Compendium musices of 1537, used examples in score only for didactic purposes; Pontio's treatise of 1588 sets out musical examples for Cantus and Bassus on separate staves.

Crucifixus à quattro
nel primo choro.

Crucifixus etiam sub pontio Pilato

secundum scripturas Et ascendit celum sedet ad dexteram patris.

Plate XI: The full score of the 'Crucifixus' of Mortaro's mass of 1599.



Plate XII: The manuscript organ-part accompanying the set of reprinted vocal part-books of 1600, held by the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna, of Gastoldi's Integra...vespertina psalmodia, 1592.

Manuscript scores of pieces were made by composers: Massaino, in the preface to his 1599 Lamentationes, refers to the initial working-out of the piece in handwritten form ⁶.

Viadana's preface to the Salmi a quattro chori of 1612 gives a description of the organist's accompanying role which could well apply to polychoral music before the turn of the century: the sections for reduced vocal forces were to be accompanied without decoration, whereas ornamentation was permitted during the homophonic tutti sections; in the 1606 Compline psalms, the organist is reminded of ripieno sections by the abbreviation rip. and of the antiphony by the abbreviation fora., where the organ part follows the bass-line of Choir I and inserts strong beats during syncopated rhythms, giving the organist a rhythmic as well as a harmonic function. The organist could also set the pitch for the singers either by sounding the initial note of a plainchant intonation (as in Viadana's Cum invocarem, 1606) or by playing over the whole intonation, as indicated in the manuscript organ part to the 1600 reprint of Gastoldi's Vespers psalms a5.

The organist was also expected to be able to transpose his part to an alternative pitch. This practice was current for two main reasons: firstly, some organs were not at the pitch of the tuono choristo, which made "the natural position of the modes inconvenient or difficult for the singers"; secondly, some singers in Italy, according to Praetorius, took "no pleasure in high singing, maintaining it is not beautiful and the text cannot be properly understood (when the voice is straining)", and virtually all choir-singers were presumed to have difficulty, according to Cerone, in reading key signatures of

more than one flat, or of any sharps at all⁷. In the third book of Il Transilvano, Diruta gives the modes for psalms which are eligible for downward transposition (the transpositions for Magnificat tones differ slightly) by a fourth, fifth or seventh. Croce's 1597 set of Vespers psalms exemplifies this practice: Nisi Dominus is to be played either a fourth or a fifth lower, and the eighth tone Magnificat a fourth lower (see Plate XIII). The majority of motets in the 1594 collection are designated for transposition; it is significant in judging the frequency of the practice that the direction "va sonato come stà" ("the part should be played as printed") in Quintiani's double-choir psalms has to be explicitly stated. The actual interval of transposition from the pitch of the printed voice-parts was, however, less than indicated, bearing in mind Diruta's information that the majority of organs are a tone, or a third, higher than choir pitch⁸. It follows therefore that, if the singers were to sing to the pitch of the untransposed organ, much undesirable forcing of the tone and range of the voice would occur. The dispute at Cremona between the Chapter and Morsolino about the intended restoration and lowering of pitch of the organ was generated by this discrepancy of organ and choir-pitch, in this case by more than a semitone, and by the need, occasioned by the performance of pieces in concerto, to regulate organ pitch with the pitch of the participating instruments⁹; the discussions at Cremona reveal that the practice at S. Marco, as later suggested by Croce's index, was for the organ to be transposed down at least a tone to accommodate the range of the singers¹⁰.



I N D E X P S A L M O R V M
I O A N N I S A C R V C E C L O D I E N S I S
O C T O V O C I B V S.



D ixit Dominus Primi Toni alla Quarta, & Quinta bassa.	2
Confitebor tibi. Secundi Toni alla Terza, & Quarta bassa.	3
Beatus vir Tertij Toni vn Tuono piu basso.	6
Laudate pueri Domi. Quarti Toni vn Tuono piu basso	8
Laudate Dominum. Sexti Toni alla Terza bassa.	9
Dixit Dominus. Sexti Toni alla Terza bassa.	10
Laudate pueri Primi Toni. vn Tuono piu basso.	11
Laudate pueri sine intonatione. Tertij Toni alla Quinta bassa.	12
Lxtatus sum Quarti Toni vn Tuono piu basso.	14
Nisi Dominus. Quinti Toni alla Quarta, & quinta bassa.	15
Lauda Hierusalem. Octauo Toni. alla terza, & vn tuono piu basso	17
Lauda anima mea. Tertij Toni. alla quinta bassa.	18
Laudate Dominum quoniam Secundi Toni. alla terza bassa	19
Confitebor tibi Quinti toni. alla quarta bassa.	21
Beati omnes Primi toni. Vn tuono piu basso	23
Credidi propter Quarti toni vn tuono piu basso.	24
Inconuertendo dominus Secundi toni. alla terza bassa.	26
Deprofundis clamavi Sexti Toni. Alla terza bassa.	27
Magnificat anima mea. Octauo toni. alla quarta bassa.	29

F N I S.



Plate XIII: The index of psalms from the organ part-book of Croce's Vespertina...psalmodia..., 1597, giving intervals of transposition.

b) Implications of clef-combinations

Clef-patterns in single-choir music could also indicate alla mente transposition of the printed notes. Whilst the chiavi naturali pattern occasioned no transposition, the higher set, termed by modern commentators chiavetti, was probably performed with transposition down a fourth on occasions; Morley's objection to the practice indicates that it was prevalent in secular music at least, and Samber, supported by Praetorius, specifies that a composition with the clef of the lowest voice as F3 was performed down a fourth, and with C4 as the lowest clef performed down a fifth, to avoid the presence of a sharp; or of more than one flat, as a key signature; the notated upward transposition of a fourth of the first mode, with a signature of B flat was, of course, common at the time¹¹. Whether this clef-inspired mente transposition practised was applied to sacred music, and at our period and our area is not certain. Morley, Rodio and Glareanus attribute the use of different clefs to the need to cater for different types of voice (e.g. a high, instead of a medium-range, treble) or for the use of parts of the range of a single voice: Zarlino makes the termini (ranges) of the average treble, alto, tenor and bass voices correspond neatly to the eleven notes which fit onto the chiave naturali without the need for leger lines, and Mendel notes that the varying clef combinations of Palestrina's Missa De Beata Virgine are consistent with the maximum avoidance of leger lines¹². The clefs of Asola's 1576 motet Alma redemptoris appear to be chosen on this latter principle: but the downward transposition of a fifth is effective, and even then the Bassus descends only to F. The scoring of Vecchi's

Domine Dominus noster is, like that of Asola's motet, close, with a high Cantus part: modern ears may relish such bright sonorities which result from Vecchi's distinctive writing, but 16th century players, and singers who might have taken "no pleasure in high singing", could have interpreted the lowest (F3) clef as an invitation to transposition down a fourth; Morley's objection to automatic transposition down a fourth implies that he himself enjoyed the effect of high, bright sonorities, and that a blind, rigid observance of the transposition was the result of inadequate instrumental or vocal ability to realise the high melodic lines.

c) Instrumental participation

Instrumental participation was customary on feast-days. The practice of employing a group of musicians or of borrowing instrumentalists from the town band, was common in large churches from the late 1570s onwards. Precise details of instrumental substitution or doubling of vocal lines are rare, but this practice was certainly not exceptional, especially in choirs with fluctuating or moderate forces: the juxtaposed entries in the Chapter records of S. Antonio for 20 February 1579 point to the substitution of a cornetto for a dismissed castrato¹³; the Cantus line was also doubled by a violin, especially in concerti, where its bright, penetrating sonority added sparkle to the texture¹⁴. Tromboni often supported or substituted for the Bassus line¹⁵. Cantus firmus lines, in tenor or bass parts, could be doubled by an instrument, especially in contrappunto alla mente performance, where the distinct instrumental tone would give stability to the vocal improvisation¹⁶. One set of part-books containing Andrea Gabrieli's motet Judica me (1587), provides instrumental

designations for five of the lines surrounding the inner ostinato cantus firmus; in a performance of this nature the cantus firmus would probably have been sung, to produce an effect similar to that of Monteverdi's Sonata sopra Sancta Maria of 1610¹⁷.

That the situation of missing vocal parts was tolerated in the 1590s can be deduced from Viadana's preface to his 1602 Concerti, where he complains that the practice of singing selected parts from a motet designed for five or more voices is unsatisfactory, as it results in missing cadences and minimal continuity and sense, owing to omitted sections of the text; Viadana's new motet style must have been in gestation from the early 1590s, as he states that the Concerti themselves had been composed five or six years prior to the date of publication¹⁸.

d) Embellishment

Embellishment of melodic lines was a significant element in performance. Viadana specifies that the 1602 Concerti are to be sung with moderate embellishment, and that the usual practice in vocal music was for it not to be performed as written except in Rome¹⁹. Improvised alla mente counterpoint to a plainchant was widespread in liturgical services. The general practice gave rise to many treatises: Vicentino in 1555 had advised that ornamentation should be applied only to pieces of five or more voices, as diminution in four-voice pieces could result in bare harmonies, and recommended exact realization of the written parts by instruments while the singers improvised²⁰. Bassano, in 1591, included compositions with both Bassus and Cantus decorated, and recommended, like Zacconi, that embellishment should be cumulative - the fastest

and most elaborate decoration being reserved for the final cadence²¹.

Although many musicians were motivated by a desire to display their own virtuosity, the underlying purpose of ornamentation was to create a subtle vocal and instrumental style, which could not be achieved by the bare bones of a melodic line; the experts, especially Caccini, were quick to criticize undiscerning singers, and to reinforce the ideal of moderate and discriminating embellishment²². Bovicelli's treatise of 1594 gives topical and sensible advice on vowel sounds appropriate for decoration, placing of syllables in groppetti and tremoli, vocal tone-colour in embellishments, avoidance of repetition of similar note-values, and awareness of movement in other voices. The extent of decoration in performance depended on the ability of the singers, on the style of music, and on the discipline within the group: even the well-disciplined nuns at S. Vito in Ferrara enhanced their prepared pieces with "light, vivacious embellishments"²³; more unruly singers would not have been so restrained. The eventual reaction of composers to the excesses of the practice was to incorporate what embellishment was suitable into the melodic structure: thus Asola's gentle quaver figures can either limit the singer to the notated formula or, possibly, indicate a place where the composer is expecting embellishment from the singer. This practice led to notated melodic lines which, by the end of the century had become extensively embellished (e.g. Canali's Quem vidistis pastores (1603); Giulio Belli's Audivi vocem (1600)).

Sections of pieces for three or four voices, in a more ornate style, could be sung by soloists: at a vocal trial in

May 1577 at Padua Cathedral, a candidate was tested both in singing with two or three voices, and with the whole vocal ensemble²⁴; mass-sections most eligible for such solo ensemble treatment are the Crucifixus and Benedictus. The Chapter at Mantua Cathedral paid for solo bass performers in the 1590s²⁵. At the German College in Rome in 1583, penitential motets and Lamentations were sung by two or three soloists with organ accompaniment²⁶.

ii) The performance of polychoral pieces

Part-books give very few guidelines for the manner of performance of the groups within the subdivided polychoral framework. One method of psalm performance in Venice which could apply to Willaert's 1550 Vespers psalms, and to later double-choir sets, has been recently suggested on evidence from the Venetian 1564 Ceremoniale²⁷: in the responsorial treatment of a double-choir psalm, four vocal soloists would have sung the parts for a complete choir, and an ensemble of less-experienced singers, limited by ability to learning their parts by rote and aural imitation, would have taken the other complete choir - thus creating an early example of the concertato principle. Documentary evidence from the records of the Venetian scuole in the early part of the century has similarly suggested a distinction in the ability of two vocal groups - the cantori vecchi, who were entrusted with the simpler music, at celebrations of minor importance, and the cantori nuovi, who were employed for the Sunday services and in processions²⁸. The optional second-choir volume to several of Asola's liturgical compositions can be explained by the possible adoption of this two-tier practice on the mainland: choirs with singers of average ability would buy a single

choir set, whilst choirs with potential soloists would purchase both sets; the resulting format of the psalm would be altered from that of versi senza riposte to versi con le sue riposte²⁹. The provision of a printed organ bass for the first choir only of Banchieri's 1595 mass and concerti could point similarly to organ support for a less independent four-part choral group, support which was not required by the more reliable second choir, composed of solo voices, or, more feasibly, instruments and exposed Cantus soloist.

The scoring of some pieces for numerically uneven choirs (e.g. the nine-voice 1606 masses and motets of Mortaro, and Colombano's 1587 psalms, where the split is four voices (Choir I) and five voices (Choir II)) and of pieces where there is consistent antiphony between high and low groups of the same choir (e.g. Vecchi's Domine Dominus noster) is a legacy of dialogue practice of the mid-century: Cambio's eight-voice dialogues of 1550 featured antiphony between a four-voice and a five-voice group, one of the two four-voice choirs being supported by a fifth from the other choir³⁰. The dialogue characteristics of antiphonal composition, whether of equal or asymmetric vocal groupings, are stylistically transposed into the vocal duet idiom of the early Baroque³¹.

The use of instruments in the polychoral texture created new possibilities for contrast of timbre. Chamaterò specifies the use of instruments in conjunction with voices in his eight-voice festal psalms of 1573, and Asola gives similar indications in his large-scale Vespers psalm publications of 1574, 1587 and 1590. The practice in Venice itself was to reserve instrumental participation for motets and concerti, as well as occasional pieces such as the Te Deum: there is no evidence

of combinations of voices and instruments in psalms, even as late as Croce's collections³². Whilst Venetian polychoral practice in the concerti, however, is clarified by Praetorius in the Syntagma Musicum, and the contrast between the vocal cappella and instrumental groups with solo singers explained, it is dangerous to assume that the same principles were applied to double-choir composition in a different liturgical medium. Specific indications as to a vocal cappella in the 16th century are very rare, and choirs often share the same clef dispositions: Choirs I and III of Mortaro's 12-voice Magnificat of 1599 are identically-pitched in claves signatae, with Choir II displaying a typical coro grave clef combination. His Gaudeamus omnes a12 deliberately introduces greater contrast by altering the clef combination of Choir I to a brighter C1, C1, C3, F3. Asola's Magnificat a12 of 1590 features an (unmarked) chorus vocalis as Choir I, a rather widely-spaced coro grave as Choir II, and a higher-pitched Choir III, which is, nevertheless, not a genuine coro acuto (Ex. 1). Chamaterò's Magnificat a9 of 1575 is not specified for instrumental participation; the clef combinations of the three three-voice choirs are nevertheless subtly contrasted. Trombetti's clef combinations in the 1589 motets show the influence of the elder Gabrieli: the double-choir motet Iubilare Deo contrasts a coro acuto against a coro grave. Naldi is far less adventurous: his Ave Regina a12 has an identical chorus vocalis pattern in all three choirs.

Polychoral performance did not necessarily involve spatial separation of the forces³³; spezzato designation in a publication's title could refer to the sharing of the text between two choirs. Other terms, however, do indicate that the two or more choirs were often physically separated: Pontio uses the term

"choro separato"; Asola refers to "octonis vocibus infractis" and "choro infracto (ut vocant)"; Vecchi was quick to take advantage of the two opposing pulpits on his cappella's pilgrimage to Loreto in 1595 for positioning two separated choirs³⁴.

A performance in the concerto manner involved both the participation of instruments and attention to the physical placing of the participants. The type of piece was most often a motet, hence the designation concerto or symphonia, but could also be a psalm; Asola's 1574 Vespers psalms were to be performed in the concerto manner: "in concerto (ut vocant) musicis omnibus instrumentorumque generibus". Concerto (and concento) is also used in the sense of an actual performance involving voices and instruments: a "concerto in choro", which involved musicians from the town band, is recorded at Udine Cathedral in October 1567; in 1579, fees were paid by the Chapter at Cremona "pro concertis faciendis in dicta Ecclesia"³⁵; Vecchi obtained his post as maestro at Salò Cathedral in 1581 as a result of the public success of a "concentum musicae"³⁶. At Padua Cathedral, in August 1578, tables and benches were brought into the chancel for the conserti (sic), possibly, to judge from the relatively ad hoc arrangements for the first occasion on which conserti had been attempted in the cathedral³⁷; in 1580, platforms were especially constructed for the singers in the concerto for the feast of the Immaculate Conception³⁸. At S. Antonio, conserti (sic) are recorded in 1586; in 1598 the scale of the conserti entailed the use of three organs.

CHAPTER VIII

STYLE AND STYLISTIC TRANSITION

i) Regional and individual style

The musical style of the North Italian region has a distinctive identity, although, within that overall style, many individual composers display idiosyncracies which characterize their environment and their sense of personal musical awareness. Many individual cities or areas similarly demonstrate, in the compositions emanating from them, a localized species.

Milan fosters a rather severe style: falsobordone and self-conscious homophonic writing are the product both of contact with the spare modern French chanson style and the atmosphere of constraint and penitence resulting from the Tridentine ethos; polychoral composition is popular, but its manner in the hands of Gratiani is rather dry and predictable. Bologna welcomes the polychoral style as an adjunct to the grandeur of its ecclesiastical architecture, but Trombetti and Naldi are conscious imitators of the polychoral masterpieces of the Gabriellis' 1587 publication. The Ferrarese Court, although highly influential and radical in its secular vocal style, maintains a largely reactionary approach to liturgical composition, preserving cantus firmus methods in motets almost to the end of the century, and rejecting the fresh, clear style of a composer aware of contemporary trends, such as Girolamo Belli. The Mantuan court, again the centre of fresh progressive secular composition, differs from Ferrara in incorporating secular techniques into sacred composition: some of Wert's 1581 motets are set in a highly mannered and progressive idiom; Gastoldi's liturgical music

often reflects the textural and rhythmic clarity and modernity of formal construction which characterize his balletti; Viadana as maestro at the cathedral is also strongly aware of modern polychoral techniques and potential, as well as providing stylistically innovative material for smaller musical forces. At Modena, Orazio Vecchi fostered a vigorous, highly-rhythmic motet style which greatly influenced his protégé Capilupi. At Parma, Pontio struggled in his compositions to shake off many of the shackles of his professed theories and experiment with a fresher musical style and language, whilst Merulo brought authentic Venetian practice on his departure from S. Marco.

Within the Republic itself, the Milanese influence of falsobordone and plain homophony was strong in the music of Canali, Asola and Mortaro, at Brescia, Vicenza and Verona; at Padua, the proximity of Venice stimulated the introduction of concerti in the late 1570s, although the style of local composition was still largely contrapuntal in character. In Venice itself, the fusion of the style of Lassus with the principles of indigenous North Italian antiphonal style in the compositions of the elder Gabrieli was developed by his nephew, and simplified by Croce: the influence of the distinctive polychoral idiom of Venice in the late 1580s was very extensive not only in the Republic, but also in Bavaria and central Italy.

Some composers left little musical impression on the musical character of a city simply because of their restless and ambitious natures: the careers of both Massaino and Giulio Belli are of interest not only musically, but for their peripatetic independence. Massaino's compositional development, especially, reflects his ability and his strong desire to be in the vanguard

of stylistic progress in church music.

ii) The utilitarian style

Although the early polychoral publications of the period invoked the stylistic blessing of adherence to the Tridentine principles in their titles or prefaces, the prevailing spirit of Trent is more genuinely expressed in the simple homophonic and syllabic style for four or five voices. Its establishment had a positive and far-reaching effect on the manner, function and extent of liturgical composition from the 1570s to the end of the century, and beyond. The effect was threefold: firstly, the less esoteric style of composition led to a democratization, as it were, of sacred composition, opening the field to musicians who would not otherwise have sought to publish; Antegnati is an example of a self-confessed amateur, who did not feel capable of extended contrapuntal argument, but was encouraged by the relatively undemanding nature of the homophonic style. Secondly, the ostensible limitations of Trent constituted, in fact, an encouragement to provide simple settings for all parts of the liturgy; the two composers who responded most readily were Asola and Viadana, both of whom satisfied the varied stylistic demands of the market. The more self-conscious composers, however, practised the simple style with some reservations. Vecchi was concerned that his public might mistake the "candidezza d' armonia" of his 1587 Holy Week settings for "fatica di poco studia". Thirdly, the favourable climate for wide musical provision for the liturgy resulted in a wider and less-sophisticated performing public, which required music compatible with their forces, abilities and needs; the result was the development of three specifically utilitarian techniques: falsobordone; four-voice pari settings; and the few-voiced concerto. Falsobordone epitomized the resourcefulness of the North Italians in clothing a bare plainsong simply and tastefully, and their imagination in adapting it as a formal feature of the more sophisticated settings.

The simple homophonic settings for use either as vocibus paribus or comunibus allowed the same composition to be performed either by a full four-voice choir including trebles or falsetti, or by broken voices, in which case the Cantus line was transposed down an octave¹. The few-voiced concerto was a direct utilitarian response to the need for pieces designed for a very limited body of singers: Fattorini's Sacri Concerti of 1600 are written for two easy vocal/instrumental lines with organ,² and Viadana's 1602 Concerti, are in effect small-scale motets which enhance their usefulness by being subject to vocal transposition.

iii) Changing formal techniques

As the importance of strict imitation, canon, and cantus firmus waned, new techniques were required to lend coherence to liturgical compositions. Psalms were increasingly set as through-composed spezzati, with loose regard for the psalm-tone; alternate-verse settings of the Magnificat and psalm relied to a greater extent on the plainchant, but, even here, its presence became less-pronounced by the end of the century. Masses included fewer sectional divisions; the polychoral settings often indicated a change of mood simply by a reduction or increase of forces, by a temporary suspension of antiphonal procedure, or by the use of a new musical rhythm. The increased use of madrigalian models for parody led to less-expansive settings; the structure of motets, by contrast, became increasingly sectionalized; this was due partly to the seconda prattica's close attention to the text, whereby phrases depicting contrasting affetti received dissimilar linear and harmonic treatment, and partly to the gradual substitution of the responsory form of the Renaissance motet both by rondo form, and by repeated closing sections. Ostinato motets, such

as Judica me (1587), were associated with academic osservato texture; Ruffo however attempted to treat the device in a modern guise in his 1570 masses.

The adoption of new techniques was gradual and uneven³. Some liturgical types, such as Propers, hymns, and the Office for the Dead, rigorously preserved their dependence on plainchant; freedom from the confines of the chant was achieved only by switching attention to substitutes, such as instrumental canzonas and ricercars in place of the Propers, and the Litany in place of the Requiem.

iv) The attitude to rhythm and metre

There was a growing call by the middle of the 16th century for a better-balanced relationship between words and music. Vicentino in 1555 had recommended that the speed of notes should be related to the words. Zarlino, in the Instituzioni, invoked Plato as a precedent in advising that harmony and rhythm should be subservient to the text, and demanded that the corpus of plainchant be revised. The Trent recommendations were only following precedent in placing emphasis on textual clarity. Thus, works by Ruffo and contemporary adherents of the reform style featured syllabic vocal writing; verbal accentuation was pointed by dotted rhythms with the result that certain words, such as 'genitum' became almost rhythmic clichés. Complexities of mensuration became increasingly rare as the method of composition shifted from the horizontal to the vertical. Homophonic antiphonal procedure depended on effective "pacing" of material - the foreshortening of note-values to bring about progressively closer antiphonal entries and a sense of climax; silence had a strongly rhythmic function in *tuttis*.

The new fashion for martial texts resulted in urgent monotonic delivery of small note-values, which point forwards to the concitato manner. The introduction of madrigal models in masses, and the involvement of wind instruments in laudatory motets and concerti accentuated the crisp syllabic style. As note-values became smaller, pieces were more often prefaced with a C instead of C signature. The change in signature had two effects: whereas C indicated two semibreve beats per bar ("due battute per casa", as Diruta terms it), C indicated four minim beats per bar; secondly, a bar in C metre would take longer to sing than a bar in C metre, although not as much as twice as long. Lockwood suggests that there is little or no distinction between the two signatures⁴; many composers, however, are careful to select C or C specifically for the style in which they are writing: Viadana's 1607 Letanie use C for the settings in a consciously conservative style (viz. those for four voci pari, five voices (apart from the Kyrie) and 12 voices), whereas the more modern-style settings are headed C. Andrea Gabrieli gives two of his 1583 penitential psalms C signatures. Massaino's 1587 Missa Veni dilecte mi is of interest for its change of signature from C to C for the 'Qui tollis' section of the Gloria and for the whole of the Credo. The adoption of the misura commune was not, therefore, a strictly chronological process. The due battute metre suited the flowing contemplative style of Marian motets, and gave the small note-values an improvisatory quality. Vecchi's motet Domine Dominus noster demonstrates this admirably: the rhythm of bars 21-22, written in the modern notation to a crotchet pulse with a metronome mark of 54, is given as Example 1 .

When polychoral pieces featuring small note-values were notated

in misura di breve (i.e. with C signature), the effect must have been, and should remain, remarkable.

v) The increasing importance of the bass-line

The adoption of homophonic style at the expense of imitative procedure induced a harmonically-supportive function in the Bassus voice; the Bassus line in the period is often characterized by leaps from the root of one harmony to another, thereby resulting in an angular shape unrelated to the primarily melodic, or plainchant-related, Cantus; this angularity is especially noticeable in the transposed Dorian mode on G, with flattening of E and sharpening of F. The emphasis on a strong Bassus line is augmented by its doubling, either at the unison or at the octave, in the tuttis of polychoral settings. A solid Bassus was a necessary support for embellished upper voices: the combination of a florid Cantus and unornamented Bassus is presented in contemporary court intermedii.

The laudi spirituali, more characteristic of Rome and Genoa than of the Veneto, often had a strong independent Bassus, and melodically-attractive duet writing in the two upper voices, and their style was copied to some extent in North Italian liturgical settings a3. Such pieces were however less rhythmically free than the laudi and preserved their liturgical propriety in development of imitative openings. Instances of duet-with-bass texture are more frequent in the inner antiphony of pieces a5 or a6. Although the genuinely independent bass-line had been demonstrated in Galilei's theory of the expansion of permitted dissonance between the melody and bass, resulting in discords for up to three consecutive beats, the principle took a number of years to establish itself in sacred composition⁵.

vi) The fading of modality

The modal system was in decline well before the Council of Trent sought to reestablish the purity of the modes. The effect of this policy was at once significant and cosmetic: some composers, such as the widely-respected Porta, referred to mass-settings by their mode whilst, in reality, drawing on a pre-existent secular model. As the influence of Trent diminished, the titles of secular models reappeared at the head of masses. Ingegneri's mass-collections of 1573 and 1587 reflect the influence of Trent regarding modes and models, although the dated composition of individual settings is, in some cases, up to five or ten years prior to the publication date: the earlier publication contains a mass on the loosely-religious chanson Susanne un giour, whilst the later collection features a paraphrase of the plainchant 'Salve' and settings on the first and second tones. Asola eschewed parodies after his mass collections of 1570 in favour of sets based on the modes. The modal system was under attack, nevertheless, from a number of influences: its framework was distended by the tempting harmonic possibilities of modulation and madrigalian verbal representation; the frequent use of fifths progressions in polychoral settings, at the chordal openings and in *tuttis* made use of an essentially tonal procedure as a motivating device; ficta practices of sharpening leading-notes and flattening sixths had a strong focussing effect at cadences; and the strong tonal element of battaglia models and imitations permeated liturgical composition during the period.

vii) Musica ficta and written-in accidentals

Provision of accidentals in a print often depended on the precision of both the composer and the publisher⁶ ; notated accidentals can both furnish tangible evidence of contemporary practice (viz. the simultaneous B flat and G sharp in Canali's Salve regina of 1581), and become focal points of sincere disagreement over the printer's reliability and their significance if assumed to be accurately positioned. The late 16th century is a ficta minefield, through which any progress must be cautious; the following examples are offered as tentative indications of contemporary procedure.

Provision of accidentals became much more extensive and precise in the late 1590s; by this time retrospective practice was giving way to prospective, although the process was continuous and uneven. Gabrieli's penitential psalms of 1583 do not feature retrospective accidentals, but place the sharp before the first of two leading-notes in a cadential pattern; Corona's 1579 psalms adopt a similar procedure (Ex. 2). Massaino provides few accidentals in Missa Veni dilecte mi (1587): the flat (the equivalent here of the modern natural) is used in the 'Crucifixus' in a warning capacity, to prevent the singer from sharpening the first C of the cadence formula (Ex. 3). Cortellini's 1595 Magnificat primi toni is supplied with all accidentals (apart from the Bassus flat on the rising fourth interval B flat - E at bar 61): leading-note cadence-formulas are all supplied with prospective sharps, except that in the Altus at bar 67, which has a sharp only before the second F (Ex. 4). All the quaver cadential formulas in Belli's Audivi vocem (1600) are supplied with prospective accidentals on the first occurrence of the leading-

note. Croce significantly does not provide cadential G sharps at one point where to do so would create an augmented harmony on a strong beat, but does provide prospective G sharps where the harmony features a suspended seventh or a diatonic triad (viz. Missa Percussit Saul, Credo, Cantus II, bar 28). Asola's 1591 Missa secundi toni has no notated cadential accidentals, except for sharpened thirds in the last chord of a phrase. Progressions in Ruffo's Missa de FERIA suggest that leading notes in perfect cadences to a minor chord may have been left unsharpened in performance: bars 36 and 72 of the Credo include leading-notes which are not provided with accidentals, and the line - E flat, D, C - would seem to suggest that the C should remain natural.

Obvious misprints or omissions are very infrequent: Croce's Missa Percussit Saul omits a sharp for the Cantus C in bar 106 of the Credo, which is necessary if a false-relation with the simultaneous A major harmony in Choir II is to be avoided. Mortaro's compositions are the least well proof-read: notes and phrases are printed at the wrong pitch; major harmonies contradict minor; rests are printed for the wrong duration; and consecutive fifths and octaves often occur in final tutti (e.g. Gaudeamus omnes: CIII/TIII, bar 48; Magnificat Tirsi io me part'à Dio: CI/CII, bar 93).

viii) Stylistic metamorphosis in post-Tridentine liturgical music

In a reply to a letter from the reticent Asola, seeking an opinion about the "new style of composition", Banchieri recommends observation of the tried rules and methods, tempered by "charm and sweetness"⁷. This reference to the quality of "dolcezza dilettevole", so intrinsic a feature of

the affective sacred style of the early 17th century, is a significant indication of the gradual, undemonstrative nature of stylistic transition in the post-Tridentine period. The seeds of the "charm and sweetness" are found in Ruffo's liturgical publications of the 1570s: his 1574 masses are described as being "piene d'inusitata dolcezza" ("full of unusual sweetness"); the 1578 Magnificats are described in the preface as "aierosi"; and the 1574 psalms claim to demonstrate a fresh approach in their treatment of the melodic line. This awareness of a new lyrical quality in vocal writing is commented on in Giovanni Gabrieli's preface to the 1587 Concerti, in which he praises his uncle's style in much the same terms as Banchieri used to describe the qualities required in pursuing the new compositional style: Andrea's style is based on sound musical discipline ("dotto"), whilst being at the same time "tanto vago, & leggiadro" ("of such grace and delicacy"), and possessing "vera, & inusitata dolcezza"; his motets are, moreover, "veri monumenti d'affetti", and express "l'Energia delle parole e de' concetti".

Such sentiments show how far composers of sacred music in the 1570s and 1580s were conscious that changes in musical style and expression were the phenomenon of their generation: the language of the seconda prattica did not have to wait until Viadana's Cento Concerti to find its true voice. Other elements normally associated with the early 17th century are likewise present and flourishing in the late 16th century in North Italy: partial vocal textures completed by instrumental and organ participation; organ duplication of the part-writing realised from the lowest line of the texture; vocal and instrumental embellishment; proto-concertato layout in

polychoral and seven-voice compositions. That most of these practices were not codified in the publications themselves before the 1590s is a reflection of the vigorous musical traditions of the cathedrals, basilicas and churches of the region. That such a rich and varied repertory of music for the liturgy survives from such an active musical period is at once a testament to those traditions, to the spirituality of the region, and to the stylistic reforms prompted in liturgical composition by the localized effects of the Council of Trent.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Gasparo Contarini (trans. Lewkenor), The Commonwealth and Government of Venice, London, 1599, pp.165-166.
2. D. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, 1970, pp.54-59.
3. Ibid., pp.12-13.
4. Contarini (op.cit.) p.126.
5. Chambers (op.cit.) p.71.
6. Paolo Prodi, "The structure and organisation of the church in Renaissance Venice", in Renaissance Venice, ed. Hale, 1973.
7. Brian Pullan, Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the 16th and 17th Centuries, 1968.
8. Oliver Logan, Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790, 1972.
9. Thomas Coryat, Crudities, 1611.
10. Pullan (op.cit.) p.148.
11. Ibid., p.197.
12. Ibid., p.182.
13. Ibid., pp.157, 159, 161.
14. Chambers (op.cit.).
15. Pullan (op.cit.).
16. Ibid., p.97.
17. Frederick Lane, "Recent Studies in the Economic History of Venice", Journal of Economic History, xxiii, no.3, 1963, p.312.
18. John Shearman, Mannerism, 1967.
19. See entries in Enciclopedia Italiana, xxvi, p.481c; xxxi, p.23c.
20. Shearman (op.cit.) p.124.
21. Rocco Benedetti, Ragguaglio delle Allegrezze, solennità e feste, fatte in Venezia, 1571.
22. See "Andrea Gabrieli", MGG, iv, coll. 1185-1194.
23. Hauser, Mannerism, p.53.
24. Vasari, The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, ed. W. Gaunt, 1963, iii, p.13.
25. Shearman (op.cit.) p.159.

26. Freedberg, Painting in Italy 1500-1600, 1971, p.345.
27. Ibid., p.363.
28. Shearman (op.cit.) p.159.
29. Vasari (op.cit.), iv, pp.23-25.
30. Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 1954, p.497.
31. Ibid., p.499.
32. Lowinsky, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance", Journal of the History of Ideas, xv, no.4, 1954.
33. Freedberg (op.cit.) p.364.
34. Sansovino, Delle cose notabile che sono in Venetia, 1561, p.18.
35. Freedberg (op.cit.) p.345.
36. Ibid., p.356.
37. Ibid., p.355.
38. Ibid., Plates 14 and 30 respectively.
39. Benesch, The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe (revised edition), 1965, p.128.
40. Freedberg (op.cit.) p.360.
41. Ibid., p.332.
42. For an elucidation of this term see Shearman (op.cit.) p.81.
43. Tietze, Tintoretto, 1948, p.169.
44. Freedberg (op.cit.) p.360.
45. Shearman (op.cit.) p.150.
46. Ibid., p.151.
47. See Lotz, Architecture in Italy 1400-1600; Part II, The Cinquecento, 1974.
48. Quoted in Lotz (op.cit.) p.314.
49. F. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, 1947, p.1.
50. P.L. Rose, "The Accademia Venetiana", in Studi Veneziani, xi, 1969.
51. Yates (op.cit.) p.9.
52. Ibid., p.10.

53. Ibid., p.152.
54. Ibid., p.15.
55. "Baif", Enciclopedia Italiana, v, p.879.
56. Yates (op.cit.) p.151.
57. Coryat (op.cit.).
58. Yates (op.cit.) p.79.
59. See Reese (op.cit.) p.374.
60. See Sternfeld, "Music in the Schools of the Reformation", Musica Disciplina, ii, 1948, pp.106-108.
61. The psalm Domine probasti me is a good example of the nota contra notam style (viz. Willaert, "Opera Omnia", viii).
62. Neither d'Alessi nor Carver refer to the composers' cultural backgrounds.
63. "Portinaro", MGG, x, col. 1, 1480-81.
64. See the articles on this topic by Lewis Lockwood, especially "Vincenzo Ruffo and musical reform after the Council of Trent", MQ, xliii, 1957, pp.342-371; and "Some observations on the Commission of Cardinals and the reform of sacred music (1565)", Quadrivium, 1966.
65. See entry on "Vitelli" in Enciclopedia Italiana, xxxv.
66. Lockwood, "Some observations ...", (op.cit.) pp.43-44.
67. Lockwood, "Vincenzo Ruffo ...", (op.cit.), p.352.
68. Ibid., p.349, where a translation is provided.
69. Ibid., p.353.
70. Ibid., p.350, where a translation is provided.
71. Kaufmann, The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino, (Musicological Studies and Documents, xi,) 1966, pp.39-40.
72. Ibid.

Notes to Chapter II

1. The early paragraphs of this chapter draw extensively from the researches and views contained in H. Outram Evennett's important study, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation, 1968.
2. Ignatius may have come into direct contact with the influence of devotio moderna at the Collège de Montaign in Paris; *ibid.* pp.60-63.
3. *Ibid.*, p.17.
4. Antonio Cistellini, Figure della Riforma Pretridentina, 1948, p.20.
5. *Ibid.*, p.105; for a discussion of Giberti's Humanistic reforms at Verona, see Preston, Sacred Polyphony in Renaissance Verona, p.49.
6. Evennett (*op.cit.*) pp.17, 26.
7. Cistellini (*op.cit.*) p.417; the author remarks that this area, dealing with the emergence of new dedications and new forms of worship, remains largely unexplored.
8. See Joachim Roth, "Die mehrstimmigen Lateinischen Litaneikompositionen des 16 Jahrhunderts", in Kölner Beiträge, xiv, 1959, p.26.
9. Prodi (*op.cit.*) p.410.
10. Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Past, 1959, p.12.
11. Prodi (*op.cit.*) pp.412-3, 418.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.419-421.
13. *Ibid.*, p.423.
14. Giorgio Spini, "The Art of History in the Italian Counter-Reformation" in The Late Italian Renaissance, ed. Cochrane, 1970, p.115.
15. King (*op.cit.*) p.38.
16. Diclich, Rito Veneto Antico (detto Patriarchino), 1823, p.27: "apparisce che questo Rito cesso per sempre, nè si può più richiamare ...".
17. *Ibid.*, pp.10, 29.
18. King (*op.cit.*) pp.37-38.
19. Diclich (*op.cit.*) p.20: "... Missalia Ritu Patriarchino ... a Missali Romano nulla ferme alia re differunt, nisi dierum aliquorum Dominicorum ordine, & SS. Trinitatis Festi diei, qui in aliud tempus translatus est".
20. King (*op.cit.*) p.43. King provides a comprehensive list of Saints'-Days in the Aquileian calendar.

21. Diclich (op.cit.) p.20.
22. Ibid., p.11.
23. Ibid., p.16, where a list of interpolations is given. See also King (op.cit.) p.44.
24. Diclich (op.cit.) p.19.
25. King (op.cit.) pp.44-47.
26. Ibid., p.23.
27. See Oliver Strunk, "Guglielmo Gonzaga and Palestrina's Missa Dominicalis", MQ, xxxiii, 1947.
28. For a full account of the history of the Ambrosian liturgy at the end of the 16th century, see Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Primatial Sees, 1957, pp.309-311, 330-342. The Ambrosian liturgical year has six Sundays in Advent, no Ash Wednesday and no feasts of the Saints during Lent.
29. King, "... Primatial ..." (op.cit.) pp.315-316.
30. Ibid., pp.324-325.
31. Lockwood, CR, pp.124-126.
32. King, Liturgies of the Past, p.24; Liturgies of the Primatial Sees, p.309.
33. E. Selfridge-Field, Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi, 1975, p.24.
34. Ibid., p.222, where a full list is given; instrumentalists were also required to perform during the Gradual at six unaccompanied masses.
35. Banchieri's instructions to the "novelli organisti" are translated and discussed in Stephen Bonta, "The Uses of the Sonata da Chiesa", JAMS, xxxii, 1969, pp.56-59.
36. Roman composers favoured settings of the Offertorio to those of the Introit (viz. Palestrina's two books of Offertories of 1593).
37. See Bonta (op.cit.) p.61, and Ernest T. Ferand, "Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the late Renaissance and early Baroque", Annales Musicologiques, iv, 1956, pp.165-168.
38. Ferand (op.cit.) p.172.
39. For example, those by Porta, Contino, and Asola.
40. Bonta (op.cit.) p.61. Canto fermo sopra messe, edited by Asola, was published in 1592.
41. Bonta (op.cit.) p.61. Mente settings could have flourished in any new style, however; the absence of printed material in fresh styles for Propers would support Bonta's view.

42. The practice was officially recognized, and authorized, in the Caeremoniale Episcoporum of 1600.
43. Bonta (op.cit.) p.61.
44. Ibid., pp.42-4.
45. Ibid., p.84.
46. Selfridge-Field (op.cit.) p.23.
47. See Banchieri, L'Organo Suonarino, p.41: "... viene però permessa per consuetudine il giorno di Pasqua di Resurrezione suonare una battaglia che sia onesta & conforme alle Sacra Sequentia Paschale". This reference is also in Bonta (op.cit.) p.84.
48. Denis Stevens, Monteverdi: Sacred, Secular and Occasional Music, 1978, p.79.
49. See C. H. Illing, "Zur Technik der Magnificat-Komposition des 16 Jahrhunderts", Kieler Beiträge iii, 1936.
50. The 1566 publication was Boyleau's Modulationes in Magnificat.
51. Murray C. Bradshaw, "The Falsobordone", Musicological Studies and Documents, xxxiv, 1978, pp.46-7. Bradshaw lists the Milanese composers as: Boyleau, Resta, Bona, Bovicelli, Gabucci, Ruffo and Orfeo Vecchi; he ascribes the predominant occurrence of the type there to the influence of Borromeo.
52. Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, "Some Historical Perspectives on the Monteverdi Vespers", Analecta Musicologica xv, 1975, p.32.
53. See Bonta (op.cit.) p.79. Over a third of Viadana's Cento Concerti are based on the texts of Vespers antiphons.
54. Selfridge-Field (op.cit.) pp.24-25.
55. The four psalms are 4 (Cum invocarem), 30 (In te Domine speravi), 90 (Qui habitat), and 133 (Ecce nunc benedicite).
56. Stevens (op.cit.) p.94.
57. Garbelotto, V, p.243: "... siano tenuti nel tempo, che non sonano organi le domeniche, li sabbati et altre feste ... redursi nel Santo à cantar le complete, et oltra questi giorni sian' obligati all'istesso tutti li Veneri della quadragesima ...". All references to the archives of the basilica of S. Antonio, Padua, are taken from Garbelotto's transcriptions of the records; reference will not be made in future in the footnotes to entries which are traceable chronologically.
58. G. Vale, "Gli ultimi anni di Vincenzo Ruffo", NA, i, pp.78-79.
59. Benjamin van Wye, "Ritual use of the organ in France", JAMS, xxxiii, 1980, pp.301-302; also, Caeremoniale Episcoporum, i, chapter 28, paragraph 6.

60. Frank D'Accone, "The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery", JAMS, xxiv, 1971, pp.4-6.
61. Arnold, G, p.22.
62. Ibid., pp.20-21, which give a more detailed list of the Venetian occasions for processions. See also David Bryant, Liturgy, ceremonial and sacred music in Venice at the time of the Counter-Reformation, 1981, pp.44-73, 91-97.
63. Casimiri P; entry for 10th June 1547.
64. Ibid., p.159.
65. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, Registro P, f.19.
66. See Balbi's letter, printed in full in Garbelotto, VI, p.60.
67. T.D. Culley, "Jesuits and Music (I)", Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, ii, 1970, p.83.
68. G. Vale, "La cappellamusicale del Duomo di Udine", NA, vii, 1930, pp.94, 106-197: "... ad pulsare ad laudem Dei et serenissimi ducalis domini nostri Venetiarum ...".
69. L. Bramante, "La cappella musicale del Duomo d'Urbino", NA, ii, 1925, pp.35, 60.
70. Ibid., p.61. The luminaria were public illuminations.
71. Ibid., p.84. The procession at Corpus Domini had, by 1597, been transferred to the interior of the church (ibid., p.36).
72. G. Vale, "Gli ultimi anni di Vincenzo Ruffo", pp.78-79.
73. Arnold G, pp.193-194. An annual figure for processions is not stated in the abstract contained in the archive, but the authors of the supplication may be exaggerating when they suggest that players in other confraternities play at 41 processions - half the number expected of the S. Rocco musicians.
74. "Ha l'obbligo di farsi sostuire se impedito"; from the entry for 15th January, 1594, transcribed in Milena Ravanelli, La Storia della Cappella Musicale del Duomo d'Imola dal sec. XV al sec. XVII, 1971-72.
75. "... Ante pacto quod D. Gabriel tineatur duos sopranos pro servitio chori pro musica ..."; from the entry for 21st April, 1604, transcribed in Rosanna Brighi, La cappella musicale del duomo di Faenza, 1968-69.
76. Bramante (op.cit.) p.85.
77. Vale, "... Udine" (op.cit.), p.115. The daily instruction of novices or boys must have been common; at S. Antonio, the fratini were taught for two hours every day (Garbelotto, X, p.363). The musical education of the fratini was considered highly important by the authorities at S. Antonio; when Colombano was indisposed for some time in 1595, the substitute

maestro had to begin teaching the fratini at once (Garbelotto, VI, p.104). On Porta's reappointment as maestro in 1595, the duty of teaching the novices was especially stressed (Garbelotto, VI, pp.104-105). At Padua Cathedral in 1564, the maestro's dismissal resulted at least in part from his negligence in teaching the chierichetti (Casimiri P, p.143).

78. Garbelotto, VI, pp.116-117: "Essendomi commesso da questa Ven. Congreg. e che ritrovar' dovessi voci buone, et convenienti alle bisogne dela (sic) capella, sono andato con ogni mio isforzo procurandone ...".
79. Casimiri P, p.177; "... è seguro et gratioso et essendo nel fine del mutar la voce se spera bene ...".
80. As it was, Zarlino had to decline owing to his position as curato of the S. Lorenzo monastery which required his presence at the feast of their name-saint (Casimiri P, pp.148-149).
81. The expenses in 1591 were incurred by the reimbursement of two singers from Venice, and in 1590 by four outside singers and musicians.
82. An exception was made in the Lent of the following year for the services of an organist who had played in previous years (Garbelotto, VI, p.112).
83. Viz. for Saturday Complines (Garbelotto, VI, p.85).
84. Casimiri P, p.154. The sense could also imply that the maestro composed the settings.
85. An archival entry in November 1569 for payment for music paper on which to copy the psalms of fra Pasetto is succeeded by an entry for completion of copying of the two books (Casimiri P, pp.152, 156).
86. Casimiri P, p.153.
87. Entry for 15th January 1584.
88. Entry for 18th January, 1599.
89. G. Vale, "Vita musicale nella Chiesa Metropolitana di Aquileia", NA, ix, 1932, p.210.
90. Ravanelli (op.cit.): see archival transcriptions for 16th February 1608 and 27th March 1611.
91. The motets are referred to as "un'opera scritta à penna" (Garbelotto, VI, p.82).
92. The date in the archive is given as 30th December 1590, which is Paduan-style for 1589; the basilica's year began in November according to the Medieval system of indicating the date (Garbelotto, VI, p.92).
93. Garbelotto, VI, p.91: "L'Arca stabilisce ... di più che dette composizioni vengano stampate assieme alla Messa ...".

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

94. Garbelotto, VI, p.118: "Desiderando ... de far stampar a tre tomi doe opre mie ... supplico esser contente comodarmi de ducati quaranta ..."; forty ducati was indeed a large sum at the time, consisting of half the annual salary of the maestro in April 1585.
95. Garbelotto, VI, pp.98-99.
96. Garbelotto, VI, p.106. The reference to monthly distributions is probably not to be taken literally, implying, instead of regular payment, either an abuse of the practice by the submission of single pieces, or an unrecorded increase in compositional activity by members of the cappella.
97. Roncaglia M, p.75.
98. Ibid., p.45.
99. Sartori, "La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Salò", in Il lago di Garda: Storia di una comunità lacuale, ii, 1969, p.171.
100. Casimiri P, transcription of entry for 15th September 1580.
101. The names of two of the three candidates feature in the list of singers and musicians for 1586 (see Garbelotto, VI, pp.79, 92).
102. See Garbelotto, VI, Documents 32 and 35.
103. Garbelotto, X, pp.359, 365.
104. Brighi (op.cit.), archive entry for 31st December 1600.
105. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, Registro R, f.72: "... datis suffragis occultis, us moris est ...".
106. Ibid., ff.39, 50, 72, 116.
107. Arnold G, pp.188-189.
108. Roncaglia M, pp.55-60.
109. Virgilio, "La cappella musicale della chiesa metropolitana di Fermo", NA, vii, 1930, p.17.
110. Bramante (op.cit.) p.85.
111. Brighi (op.cit.) p.13.
112. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, Registro M.
113. For a reference to the school, see "Parti e Istromenti", Registro G, f.20. The election of two canons, Miagus and Guido, as deputies is recorded in "Acta", Registro R, f.155v, 24th November 1604.
114. P. Guerrini, "I canonici cantori della cattedrale di Brescia", NA, i, 1924, pp.82-83.

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

115. Casimiri P, entry for 12th May 1597.
116. Arnold G, p.18. Faenza had two maestri di cerimonie.
117. Casimiri P, p.155; entry for 9th November 1571.
118. Ibid., p.170. The Cardinal's letter of 20th May 1589, states: "... vedo mal volentieri Frati mescolati a Preti ...".
119. Garbelotto, VI, p.115, Document 7, fn. 11.
120. Ibid., p.121, Document 23, fn. 26.
121. Garbelotto, V, p.259.
122. Garbelotto, VI, pp.78-79. The order for disbanding was, however, withdrawn.
123. Ibid., pp.98-101; Colombano's former salary, which had been 100 ducati, was now 80 ducati; the salary of Zuane Bono, a trombone-player, formerly 18 ducati, became 15 ducati.
124. Casimiri P, p.156.
125. Ibid., pp.157, 159.
126. Ibid., entries for 20th December 1594, and for 8th October 1599.
127. Ibid., entries for 6th March 1596; 21st January 1598; 1st May 1598; 26th April 1600.
128. Roncaglia M; The two trombonists are not specified in the list, but Valentini and Parmesani are referred to elsewhere in this capacity.
129. Arnold G, pp.32-34.
130. For references to contrabassi see Garbelotto, V, p.239; Casimiri P, entry for 5th November 1562; the appointment of four new singers for 1588 makes a distinction between the basso and the contrabasso.
131. Garbelotto, VI, p.103.
132. Ibid., p.83.
133. Ibid., p.105: "... virtuoso et di buone qualità ..."
134. For a reference to a likely substitution of a castrato by a cornetto, see Garbelotto, V, p.263.
135. See Garbelotto, V, pp.260, 263, fn.7.
136. Fedeli, "Le cappelle musicali di Novara", IMAMI, iii, 1933, p.15.
137. Casimiri P, pp.160, 162.
138. Garbelotto, V, p.260: "Per tre anni et per manco tempo se lui mutasse la voce Francesco figliuolo de m.o Camillo Sartore ...".

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

139. This happened to the young Francesco del Sole, who in May 1580 is mentioned as "havendo cantato il soprano fin hora in cappella"; Sole was later to be appointed substitute maestro for the month of January 1592.
140. Garbelotto, VI, p.92.
141. Guerrini, "Per la storia della musica a Brescia", NA, xi, 1934, p.14.
142. Brighi (op.cit.), "Entrate ed uscite delle RR. Mansionerie 1544-1554".
143. Ibid., p.26.
144. Ibid., entry for 21st April 1604.
145. Garbelotto, VI, p.112.
146. Ibid., pp.114-5 (Documents 3 and 5).
147. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, Registro M, f.138.
148. Garbelotto, V, p.236.
149. Ibid., p.251.
150. Ibid., p.255.
151. Ibid., p.259; the phrase used in the archives is "ut punctare teneatur cantores"; when Sorte performed this function he was not expected to sing ("nel qual caso non tenuto a cantare"); by August 1589, Sorte was employed at the cathedral primarily as a trombonist, and only as a singer when needed.
152. Garbelotto, VI, p.83. Boni states in his submission to the Presidenti that he was originally employed solely as a singer, but has been expected on many occasions to play the trombone. He was given a new contract in 1593 "non sollo di musico ma anco de altri instrumenti". By 1597 Boni was asking to be employed specifically as a trombonist in concerti, and volunteering his services as a singer as an adjunct.
153. Ibid., p.96. This duty was later passed to Ratti.
154. Ibid., p.103.
155. Ibid., loc.cit.
156. Tagmann, "Archivalische Studien zur Musikpflege am Dom von Mantua 1500-1627", Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, 1967, p.72.
157. Casimiri P, p.180. The phrase used is "bater la battuda".
158. Transcribed in Casimiri P, p.144.
159. Garbelotto, X, pp.23-24.

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

160. Ibid., pp.22-23.
161. Garbelotto, VI, p.101. The new holiday period presumably comprised the 30 days from Septuagesima until Quadragesima. The cassock is referred to as "una vesta longa".
162. Garbelotto, V, p.263: "un giorno ... chiamati dal R. do Maestro ... per provar motetti, psalmi, et altro ...".
163. Garbelotto, VI, p.98.
164. Garbelotto, V, p.232. Paragraph 8 gives the names of two organists contracted to play on festal days.
165. Ibid., p.231: "organum major anterius, cum omnibus et singulis suis registris et organum minus posterius unius tantum registri."
166. Ibid., p.257: "Debbi sonar l'organo alle antiphone de tutto'l vespero."
167. Garbelotto, VI, p.68.
168. Cesari, "La musica in Cremona nella seconda metà del secolo XVI", IMAMI, vi, 1939.
169. Roncaglia M, p.50.
170. Arnold G, p.19.
171. Selfridge-Field (op.cit.) p.11.
172. See Arnold G, p.41, and Selfridge-Field (op.cit.) pp.8, 10.
173. Garbelotto, VI, p.111, where he maintains that the total number of organs was four.
174. Ibid., p.90. The organ was loaned, however, later the same year, to the church of S. Caterina for concerti on their name-feast, and to the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus for their important name-feast on 1st January 1592.
175. Ibid., p.80.
176. Casimiri P.
177. Garbelotto, V, p.264.
178. Garbelotto, VI, p.117. Formenton recommends his uncle, Tardinelli, for the post he is leaving.
179. Casimiri P, p.148.
180. Arnold G, p.44.
181. Garbelotto, V, pp.264-5. The audience is referred to as "concorso di molto populo".
182. Selfridge-Field (op.cit.) pp.7, 13-22. The two trombones are given as trombone and bass-trombone.

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

183. Vale, "La cappella musicale del Duomo di Udine", NA, vii, 1930, pp.94, 106, 108, 118, 119, 127-8. Four of the five musicians who comprised the new company in 1592 died in March 1596; the complement of five was not restored until 1603.
184. Ibid., p.120; also Arnold "Instruments in church: some facts and figures", Monthly musical record, lxxxv, 1955, p.35.
185. Vale (op.cit.) pp.120-121.
186. Ibid., p.182.
187. Garbelotto, VI, p.126: "instrumento invero di gran fatica come da ognuno è stimato"; Pasqualini significantly received an increase of nine ducati at a time when the cappella had taken cuts in its wages of up to 20%.
188. Ibid., p.102.
189. Ibid., pp.21, 44.
190. Ibid., p.76: "Essendo molto a proposito haver un musico per sonar il Violino come instrumento acuto et di gran spirito nelli conserti"
191. Lorenzo di Giacomo da Prati, Miscellanae Musicale, Tomo S. Petronio.
192. Miscellaneous document held in the Biblioteca Queriniana, f.24v.
193. Garbelotto, VI, p.39.
194. Roncaglia M, p.55.
195. Garbelotto, VI, p.68; the instrument is a clavichord, which the organist was to teach them.
196. Culley (op.cit.) p.87.
197. Garbelotto, V, p.235.
198. Casimiri P, p.147.
199. A broad discussion of the salaries of church musicians and comparability with the salaries of other professions and trades is contained in Anthon, "Some Aspects of the Social Status of Italian Musicians during the 16th Century - I", Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, i, 1946.
200. Garbelotto, V, p.263. For most of the area within the Venetian terraferma the ducato was worth 6 lire and 4 soldi, whereas in Mantua, where the lira was worth more, the ducato was equivalent to 4 lire and 13 soldi.
201. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, "Parti e Istromenti", Libro Q, f.19: "canonici ... inter se ellegeverunt et deputaverunt D. Alexium de gabusiis ...^{con} salario ducattorum sexaginta

ad eorum librarum trium ... pro ducatti singulo anno ...".
The text would indicate that the exchange rate in the immediate area was 3 lire to the ducato.

202. Casimiri P, p.164.
203. Increases of salary were not automatic, and were requested by petition to the authorities.
204. Casimiri P, p.160; Garbelotto, VI, pp.92, 108.
205. Garbelotto, VI, p.85.
206. Ibid., pp.104, 110.
207. Ibid., p.45. The yearly total of 216 ducatti would have exceeded that of the maestro; the error could be in the archival entry or in Garbelotto's transcription.
208. Casimiri P, p.147.
209. Bramante (op.cit.) p.85.
210. Vale, ". .. Aquileia" (op.cit.) p.210; "... Ruffo" (op.cit.) p.79.
211. Garbelotto, X, pp.372-373.
212. Arnold G, pp.18-19.
213. Garbelotto, V, p.264.
214. Garbelotto, VI, p.84.
215. Ibid., pp.107, 112.
216. Ibid., p.81.
217. Brescia, Archivio del Duomo, Registro C: "Contractuorum 1589-1665", f.60r. The handwriting is typical of many of the contemporary documents in the cathedral archive. The contract begins with a lengthy description of the details of the meeting held "on the 22nd day of the moon, the 11th in the month of January, consisting of a happy gathering of canons, in a lower residential room, presided over by the noble lord Camillo Coradello and the Lord Vicar Melarinus".
218. For archival entries relating to the dispute, see Garbelotto, VI, pp.79-83.
219. Garbelotto, X, p.383; entry for 4th February 1589.
220. Roncaglia M, p.47.
221. D'Accone (op.cit.) p.19; see also Anthon (op.cit.) pp.121-122.
222. Garbelotto, X, p.378; VI, p.86.
223. Garbelotto, V, p.266; entry for 14th January 1580; the Mass is referred to as "missa novella".

Notes to Chapter II (cont...)

224. Garbelotto, VI, p.75.

225. Ibid., p.77.

Notes to Chapter III

1. In the dedication to the 1596 masses, he states that he has held the post of chorodidasculus in the cathedral for five years.
2. Enrico Paganuzzi, "Documenti Veronesi su musicisti del XVI et XVII secolo", Scritti in onore di M. Giuseppe Turrini, 1973. 1528/9 is more feasible as year of birth than that given in Reese (op. cit.) p. 426, as c. 1560. Asola's father, Lorenzo, is "brezzan" (viz. Brescian); the town of Asola is in the province of Brescia. The 1973 supplement to MGG makes some emendations to the original MGG article, and also supersedes the biographical details in Fouse, "G.M. Asola: Sixteen Liturgical Works", (Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance, 1,) 1964, pp. vii-viii. The revised biography now suggests that Asola was parish chaplain at S. Maria in Organo, Verona, from 1571 to 1575, and at S. Giorgio in Braida, Verona, from 1575 to 1577. After his brief tenure of the post of maestro at Treviso Cathedral from November 1577 to November 1578, he held a similar post at Vicenza from 1578 to May 1582. From 1582 he was a chaplain of S. Severo in Venice, but is recorded in 1590/91 as maestro at Verona Cathedral and at the Scuola degli Accoliti there.
3. See A. Newcomb, "The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597", 1980, Appendix I, p. 174, where Newcomb suggests that "he was a ducal musician only in the sense that he was in charge of the music at Ferrara's cathedral".
4. "May Alfonsus II, most serene Duke of Ferrara, enjoy a happy life"; the Mantuan Missa Angelorum cites Guglielmo in a similar vox regis.
5. Lockwood CR, p. 129; the phrases quoted are Lockwood's translations of the Italian text.
6. Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 1954, p. 449.
7. Lockwood CR, p. 76.
8. Ibid., p. 87.
9. Ibid., p. 92.
10. Ibid., p. 93.
11. Fellerer, "Church Music and the Council of Trent", MQ, xxxix, 1953.
12. Lockwood CR, p. 98.
13. Ibid., p. 99; the translation of the dedication is by Lockwood.
14. Ibid., p. 100.

Notes to Chapter III (cont...)

15. Ibid., p. 237.
16. Ibid., p. 116.
17. Ibid., p. 102.
18. Ibid., p. 182.
19. Ibid., p. 18; see also Preston, Sacred Polyphony in Renaissance Verona, 1969, pp. 38-46.
20. Lockwood CR, pp. 22, 29, 31-34, 43.
21. Ibid., p. 99.
22. Rore, Opera Omnia, ed. Bernhard Meier, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vii,) 1966, pp. iii and 91.
23. Ibid., p. iv.
24. Alvin Johnson, "The Masses of Cipriano de Rore", JAMS, VI, 1953, p. 238.
25. Lasso, Sämtliche Werke, iv, ed. Hermelinck, 1964, p. 3.
26. Ibid., p. 73; the ascribed date is c. 1560.
27. Ibid., p. vii, fn. 15.
28. Pinsk, "Die Missa Sicca", Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, iv, 1924, pp. 90-118.
29. Sternfeld (ed.), "Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance", A History of Western Music, Chapter 4.2, p. 185.
30. E.g. the Council of Paris of 1528.
31. Wagner, Geschichte der Messe, I. Teil: bis 1600, reprinted 1963, p. 241.
32. Ibid., pp. 244-245; e.g. Janequin's L'Aveugle Dieu (1554).
33. Ibid., pp. 250-254; other examples of idiosyncratic accentuation are given on pp. 259-260.
34. Selfridge-Field (op. cit.) p. 66.
35. Lockwood CR, pp. 173, 175.
36. Ibid., p. 178.
37. Ibid., p. 189.
38. The edition used for discussion of the masses primi toni and secundi toni is Giuseppe Vecchi, Vincentii Ruffi Opera Omnia (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Monumenta Veronensia, i,) 1963.
39. Lockwood CR, pp. 118-121.

Notes to Chapter III (cont ...)

40. The Credo is transcribed in Torchi, i, p. 197.
41. The discussion of this movement is based on Transcription 38.
42. When referring to phrases from the mass-text, brackets indicate that the word or syllable, whilst included in the reference for completeness, is not directly relevant to the specific musical point.
43. Lockwood CR, p. 212.
44. Ed. R.J. Snow, Musica Liturgica, i, fasc. i, 1958.
45. Lockwood CR, p. 188.
46. Ibid., p. 205.
47. The preface reads: "ut & verba ... non effugerunt, verum etiam facillime perciperentur".
48. See L. Pruett, "Parody Technique in the Masses of Constanzo Porta", Studies in Musicology in memory of Glen Haydon, 1969.
49. The missa tertii toni is edited by J. Schmidt-Görg, Musica Divina, v, 1950.
50. Printed in Proske, Musica Divina I, section vii.
51. See Transcription 5.
52. See Transcription 1.
53. Date of birth is given in MGG as 1560.
54. Ravanelli (op. cit.); in 1582 the choir was provided with music - "... particolarmente di Messe e di Motetti di nuova composizione ..."; in 1585 a sum was granted by the authorities of Imola Cathedral on 9th February to "... pagare una muta di messe nuove per la chiesa ...".
55. See Transcription 2.
56. Orfeo Vecchi's 1588 mass-publication, which specifically claims conformity to the Milanese regional council recommendation, contains parodies.
57. The three masses are transcribed in Haberl, Repertorium Musicae Sacrae, i-ii; Missa prima also appears in an edition by Cattin, in Monumenta veneta excerpta, i, 1963.
58. Wagner (op. cit.) p. 411.
59. See Transcription 4.
60. See Transcription 3.
61. The parts are not designated in the usual double-choir pattern; thus Cantus I and Altus are the two highest voices, and Bassus I and Tenor II correspond to the two tenor parts.

Notes to Chapter III (cont ...)

62. Lasso, Samtliche Werke, ii, ed. Sandberger, 1894, pp. 89-100.
63. Musica sacra", ed. J. Bastian, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, li,) 1970-1971, vol. 1.
64. This mass and the Missa Sine Nomine edited by F.X. Haberl, were published in 1871 and 1873 respectively.
65. Transcribed in Torchi, ii, p. 31.
66. The discussion of this mass is based on my own transcription. The Gloria is given as Transcription 39. The Gombert model is published in N. Gombert: Opera omnia ed. J. Schmidt-Görg, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vi,) vol. 5, pp. 86-93. Ex. 6 juxtaposes excerpts from the motet and the Kyrie of the mass.
67. For a comprehensive introduction to the masses, see Ansbacher, The Masses of Paolo Isnardi Ferrarese ca. 1536-1596, 1972.
68. Ansbacher (op. cit.) p. 131; only one voice-part is extant.
69. See Transcription 6.
70. The Credo of Missa Veni dilecte mi (1587) is given as Transcription 7.
71. For a modern edition of this mass, see Asola, "Missa Regina Coeli", ed. Siro Cisilino, Collana di Musiche Veneziane Inedite o Rare, 1963.
72. Ruffino's influential early double-choir mass is discussed in Carver, The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to 1580, 1980, p. 89.
73. Philippi de Monte, Opera Omnia, x, ed. van Nuffel, 1929; Striggio's madrigal is given after Monte's mass.
74. "... quod mihi tempus superest ex fabricandis organis ... his tribus missis ... libenter impendi ..."
75. See Transcription 8.
76. Ed. G. d'Alessi in Andrea Gabrieli, Musiche di chiesa da cinque a sedici voci, (I Classici Musicali Italiani, v,) 1942.
77. Carver (op. cit.) pp. 275-276.
78. Arnold G, pp. 172-174; the mass-movements are transcribed and edited in Giovanni Gabrieli, Opera Omnia, ed. D. Arnold, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, xii,) 1956-1974, vol. II.
79. E.g. at 'et ex omnibus tribulati'. The two large-scale masses are discussed more fully in Bastian, The Sacred Music of Claudio Merulo, Ph.D., Univ. of Michigan, 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 227-289.

Notes to Chapter III (cont ...)

80. See MGG, ii, col. 1794.
81. Arnold G, p. 175, refers to the sonority and rhythmic intensity of this mass. The Credo is given as Transcription 9. The motet model is given as Transcription 31.
82. The Kyrie and Gloria are given as Transcription 10. The relevant passages from the model are given in example 12.
83. Martin Morrell, "New Evidence for the biographies of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli", Early Music History 3, ed. I. Fenlon, Cambridge, 1983, p. 113.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Transcribed and edited in Fouse (op. cit.) p. 71.
2. See Transcription 18.
3. Armstrong, "How to compose a psalm: Ponzio and Cerone compared", Studi Musicali, vii, 1978, pp. 107, 109.
4. Reese, "The Polyphonic Magnificat of the Renaissance", JAMS, xiii, 1960, pp. 68-78.
5. The Magnificat a8 by Mortaro in Kauffmann's 1600 anthology, and the 1599 parody al2 are both complete polyphonic settings.
6. Armstrong (op. cit.) p. 105, fn. 9, cites the practices at S. Barbara, Mantua: Gardane's preface to a Magnificat publication of 1586 specifies odd-numbered verses in polyphony for "festis diplicibus", and even-numbered for "festis semiduplicibus". The Roman Compendium of 1513 also distinguishes between the performance of Magnificats for ferial and festal use; see Illing (op. cit.) p. 20.
7. Illing's chronological list of Magnificat settings transposes the year of publication of some of Asola's sets (e.g. the reprint of the 1578 publication is ascribed to 1582 instead of 1586).
8. "Canticaque duo B. Virginis, unum ... integrum, alterum ... pro commoditate cantorum in versiculos divisum."
9. See Transcription 19.
10. The discussion of this Magnificat is based on Transcription 41.
11. See Transcription 18.
12. The discussion of this psalm is based on Transcription 40.
13. The two Magnificat settings in each volume are, from the evidence of their layout in the part-books, intended to be performed as two interlocking settings; see Armstrong's explanation of this essentially visual link (op. cit.) p. 121.
14. Rossi's name being used in its Latinized form in the publication ("Rubens") would support this view.
15. See Transcription 14.
16. See Transcription 13.
17. See Transcription 15.

18. E.g. his modest assessment of his potential as a composer of Vespers psalms: "in hoc ... genere tam multos excelluisse videbam, ut me nihil aliud quam actum agere ... credendum est".
19. See Transcription 16.
20. See Transcription 17.
21. See Transcription 12.
22. These three pieces were published in a Milanese anthology.
23. Published in Kauffmann's 1600 anthology; quoted by Illing (op. cit.) p. 27.
24. See note 51 of Chapter II for a list of the Milanese composers.
25. E.g. the instances of "measured" falsobordone in Sermisy's Resurrexi (1534) and the Magnificat settings of 1564, where the measured falsobordone is incorporated into the settings as odd-numbered verses. The alternative provenance of falsobordone from Rome is propounded by Nino Pirrotta, "Novelty and renewal in Italy, 1300-1600", zur Tradition in der Musik. Kurt von Fischer zum 60 Geburtstag, 1973, p. 56 in M. Schuler, "Spanische Musikeinflüsse in Rom um 1500", Anuario Musical, xxv, 1970, pp. 32-34, and in Bradshaw (op. cit.) p. 43.
26. Fellerer (op. cit.) pp. 576, 592.
27. "... nondimeno pare, che con grande agevolezza, & soavità de cantori: & universale contento, allegrezza, & satisfattione de popoli nelle chiese di Dio si ascoltino espressi co'l mezzo de Falsi Bordonni."
28. See Transcription 11. The title-page is reproduced as Plate IV.
29. A composer usually provided an effusive dedication in the expectation of either a monetary reward, or of employment in the patronage of the dedicatee. The 1585 publication's contents were possibly not considered sufficiently impressive to warrant material recognition from an influential dedicatee.
30. "Composed in the new consonant style, or, as it is called, falsobordone".
31. See Gerstenberg in Willaert, "Opera Omnia", (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, iii,) 1950-1972, vol. 8, 1972, p. xi, and Carver, The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to 1580, 1980, p. 30.
32. See d'Alessi (op. cit.) p. 210.
33. "Per le feste di Natale, di Pasqua ed altre feste del anno ... comodi alle voci, accompagnati anco con ogni sorte di instrumenti musicali ..."

Notes to Chapter IV (cont ...)

34. "Ch'espressamente si senotono le parole de i salmi che si cantano, non ostante che siano a otto voci ..."
35. "Ego mea musica studia ab inanibus mundi compositionibus ad pios & sacros usus ex sancti Tridentini concilij sententia converterem & accommodarem."
36. "... omnes ... cum singulae separatim, tum simul universae, imme (n) so ac suavissimo quodam sono, tamquam in concerto, ut vocant, musicis omnibus vocum instrumentorumque generibus referto aures atque animum meum complent."
37. "Videntur ... cantores, ac auditores valde delectari his quae alternatim in ecclesia Dei choro *infracto* (ut vocant) decantantur."
38. "Inter omnes cantionum species ... principatumque tenere videtur sine controversia Psalmodia, quae in tanta canenda varietate versatu mirum est ..."
39. "... dalla angelica armonia, onde con mirabile concerto delle proprie voci, & di varij strumenti musicali, s'essercitano frequentemente nel culto divino, non senza incredibile diletto, & edificazione spirituale, di coloro à chi vien dato in forte d'udirle."
40. See Transcription 20.
41. Ed. d'Alessi in "Andrea Gabrieli: Musiche di Chiesa da cinque a sedici voci", (I Classici Musicali Italiani, 1941,) and D. Arnold in "Giovanni Gabrieli: Opera Omnia", (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae xii,) vol. 2, 1959.
42. See Arnold G, p. 175.
43. The Magnificat features an early example of a notated repeat sign.
44. Antegnati's amateur status is reflected in the dedication: "... mi lasciai pian piano adescare dalla dolcezza, ch'io gustavo nella prattica a comporre hor'una cosa hor'un altra"; ("... I became gradually beguiled by that sweetness, which I had tasted in the practice of setting now one piece, now another").
45. See Transcription 22.
46. The discussion of the Magnificat is based on Transcription 48. The relevant excerpts of the madrigal are given in example 9.
47. See Transcription 20.
48. "I nove armonichi ornamenti, che gli antichi ... attribuirono a quelle nove imagnate sorelle, che dissero habitatrici del monte Helicon".
49. The title-page specifies that the Magnificats are "accommodati per cantar & sonar in concerto".

Notes to Chapter IV (cont ...)

50. See Transcription 21.
51. Carver, "The Psalms of Willaert ..." (op. cit.) pp. 277-278.
52. Transcribed in Torchi, ii, p. 373.
53. See Transcriptions 23 and 24. Transcription 24 is of the 1604 reprint.
54. The performance timings would, however, be affected by the C signature of the a8 setting and the \emptyset signature of the a6 setting.
55. Arnold G, pp. 186-187.
56. Roche, North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi, 1984, p. 122.

Notes to Chapter V

1. See Chapter II, pp. 30-31.
2. "In duos tresque choros coalescentes, non minùs Inmentorum (sic), quàm vocum harmonia suaviter concini possunt."
3. Bryant, Liturgy, ceremonial and sacred music in Venice at the time of the Counter-Reformation 1981, p. 29.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Kurtzman (op. cit.) p. 64 notes that a setting by Victoria had appeared in 1583.
6. Strunk, "Some Motet Types of the 16th century", International Congress of Musicology 1939, 1944, pp. 159-160.
7. Bryant (op. cit.) p. 133.
8. See Transcription 25.
9. See Transcription 26.
10. Published in Lindner's 1585 anthology.
11. Arnold G, p. 180.
12. See Arnold, "Formal design in Monteverdi's church music", Congresso internazionale Monteverdi: Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo, 1959, pp. 193-201.
13. The discussion of this motet is based on Transcription 42.
14. Transcribed in Torchi, ii, p. 335.
15. See Transcription 27.
16. Transcribed in Arnold, Ten Venetian Motets, 1980, p. 26. The bar-numbers referred to in the discussion of the motet are from Arnold's edition; Sextus is referred to as Soprano 2, and Quintus as Tenor 2.
17. See Arnold, "Formal design ..." (op. cit.) pp. 201-202; also, Arnold, "Giovanni Croce and the concertato style", MQ, xxxix, 1953, pp. 42-43.
18. The discussion of this motet is based on Transcription 43.
19. See Transcription 28.
20. Transcribed in Commer, xxiii, p. 34; it is unlikely that this splendid motet would have been sung in S. Marco on Ascension Day, but rather at the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas in Lio, as services in the basilica on Ascension Day were sung to plainsong by a small residual group.

For a discussion of Ascension Day practice, see Bryant, Liturgy...,

pp. 98-102, 263.

21. See Transcription 29.
22. See Transcription 30.
23. I am grateful to Dr. Roche for the loan of a copy of his transcription of this motet.
24. Transcribed in Proske, Musica Divina, Annus I, ii, p. 559, and discussed in Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 1954, pp. 487-488.
25. The discussion of this motet is based on Transcription 44.
26. Schutz sets the same text, in German, in a similar manner, as Herr, unser Herrscher (1619), with the addition of a liturgical doxology.
27. See Transcription 31.
28. See Transcription 32.
29. Arnold, God, Caesar and Mammon, 1970, p. 6; this collection represents Canali's "first-fruits of nights spent in wakeful study of the art of music".
30. See Transcription 33.
31. Paganuzzi, "Documenti Veronesi ..." (op. cit.).
32. The discussion of this motet is based on Transcription 45.
33. "Mortaro", The New Grove, xii, p. 593.
34. Transcribed by Ferdinando della Ragione in Asola, Dieci Laudi Sacre a Tre Voci, 1952.
35. The interesting echo-piece a8 in Soto's fourth book of laude spirituali of 1591, Che bene è questo, is essentially a four-voice lauda with identical choral echoes.
36. See Bryant, (op. cit.) p. 212. The text was popular as a vehicle for echo-motets e.g. Donato's setting of 1599.
37. See Transcription 34.
38. See Transcription 35.
39. Transcribed in Killing, Kirchenmusikalische Schatze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini, 1910, p. 315.
40. Porta, Motetti a 5 voci (1605), ed. Siro Cisilino.
41. The B natural here corresponds to the quilisma of the plainchant.
42. "Et perche fossero cantati in Chiesa, et perche servissero nelle hore del riposo per un honesto intrattenimento à quelle honorate giovani ..."

The source of the quotation is the Preface to the 1580 publication.

43. Wert, "Opera Omnia", (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, xxiv,) volumes 11, 13 and 16, ed. Bernstein.
44. The dedication states that at the time of publication, he has been in the service of the Duke for 35 years; Newcomb (op. cit.), p. 158, suggests that Alberti was referred to at court as Innocentio del Cornetto.
45. For a description of the contrapuntal settings, see Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 1954, p. 494.
46. "Placata ormai la furia (contrapuntistica) e gli entusiasmi scolastici è solo preoccupato di rendere bene il testo": Porta, Motetti a 5 voci, ed. Cisilino.
47. The rubric reads: "Aspersas nigro demisse concinat unus Ast albo cuncti vocibus altisonis".
48. His earlier volume of motets was written in his native Sicily. The dedication implies that the motets have been in use prior to publication: "quei Motetti che s'usano di cantare tra gl'offici divini ... della honoratissime chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore ...".
49. Transcribed in Torchi, i, p. 328.
50. See Killing (op. cit.) p. 310; the description of the style of the motet as "pseudo-monody" (Carapezza, op. cit., p. 788) is, however, exaggerated.
51. See Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 1954, pp. 487-488.
52. Transcribed in Torchi, ii, p. 283.
53. It is not proposed to discuss in detail the motet repertories of Andrea or Giovanni Gabrieli, which have been the subjects of several important studies, notably Arnold G; Winterfeld, Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter, 1834; Kenton, Life and works of Giovanni Gabrieli, (Musicological studies and documents, xvi,) 1967; Simson, The motets of Andrea Gabrieli: "catalogue raisonné" and critical edition, unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Yale, 1962.
54. Andrea Gabrieli's Exsultate justi and Benedicam both feature a low C; Bellavere's Vidi speciosam descends to low Bb in Bassus II.
55. Arnold G, p. 31; Professor Arnold suggests that Donato was at least 60 years old in 1590.
56. Merulo, Musica sacra, ed. J. Bastian, (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, li,) vol. 3, 1971, p. xiv. Bastian tabulates the motets, providing the sources of the texts, where known.
57. The discussion of this motet is based on Transcription 46.
58. The 1605 publication gives the motet a tone lower than the 1612 Strasburg source. The examples are given at the higher pitch. See Torchi, ii, p. 323. Other motets from the 1595 collection are discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

59. For a discussion of Gabrieli's 1597 setting, and a comparison with that of 1615, see Arnold G, pp. 103-105, 281-282.
60. Transcribed in Commer, xxiii, p. 31; I have not checked Commer's reading against the original.
61. Transcribed in Commer, xxvii, p. 29.
62. Transcribed in Arnold, Ten Venetian Motets, 1980, p. 39.
63. Arnold G, p. 82.
64. Bryant (op. cit.) p. 111.
65. Arnold, "Andrea Gabrieli und die Entwicklung der corispezzati-Technik", Die Musikforschung, xiii, 1959, pp. 260-261, 266.
66. See Chapter IV.
67. See Carver, The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to 1580, 1980, p. 279, where the six motets are listed, together with the Kyrie a8/al2.
68. Ibid., pp. 274-275.
69. For a transcription of the eight-voice motets, see Barker, The Eight-Voice Polychoral Motets of Marc Antonio Ingegneri, 1974. The twelve-voice motets and sixteen-voice motet are published in Monumenta Liturgiae Polychoralis Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae, Serie IVA N. 1, Serie IVB N.1, Societas Universalis Sanctae Ceciliae, Trento, 1968.
70. The motets in this category are: Diligam te Domine a6; Attendite popule meus a8; Iubilare Deo a8; Multiplicati sunt a8; Iubilare Deo al0; Misericordiae tuae al2. The title of the publication includes the phrase "Accomodati per cantare & far concerti."

Notes to Chapter VI

1. The psalm-motet Miserere mei is an exception which, in its essentially vocal linear ranges and detailed chromatic expression, reflects a strong awareness of liturgical suitability.
2. Luce, The Requiem Mass from its Plainsong Beginnings to 1600, Ph.D., 1958, vol. 1, pp. 256, 271.
3. The dedication states that: "impulsu amicorum opusculum hoc edere statuerim".
4. "Ne mi curerò ch'altri dica che questa sia fatica di poco studio, poscia che se per mezzo di questa semplici arti altri s'innalzannero alla contemplatione di Dio, havrò fatto assai... questa candidezza d'armonia è più capace al comun senso de gli ascoltanti."
5. The rubric in the publication states that: "Reliqui versus possunt decantari super quemlibet versiculum".
6. See Fenlon, "Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596", Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, xii, 1977, p. 240.
7. Asola's 1585 hymns are contained in two volumes which divide the motets de Tempore and de Sanctis.
8. For the music of the five hymns discussed, see Transcription 36.
9. See Transcription 37.
0. See example in Das Chorwerk, cii, pp. 11-24.
1. Ibid., pp. 35-31.
2. Blackburn, "Te Matrem Dei Laudamus: A Study in the musical veneration of Mary", MQ, liii, 1967, pp. 65-68; the author refers to the possibility of performance by separated choirs of a vernacular setting by Dammonis.
3. This aspect is discussed more fully in Chapter II.
4. The complete setting of the mass and Propers has been edited by Raimund Rügge, in Vecchi, "Missa In Resurrectione Domini, zu 8 Stimmen", Das Chorwerk, cviii, 1966.
5. The tradition of the Bassus cantus firmus was already well-established in the Proper settings of Isaac and Lassus and was current in the mid-16th century in the Netherlands and Germany.
6. The advice given by Calvisius is for soloists to sing clausulae or, if skilful enough, to improvise canons.

Notes to Chapter VI (cont ...)

17. The discussion of this Introit is based on Transcription 47.
18. Lassus's setting of Ave maris stella illustrates the same technique (verse 2, bars 16-18, where Cantus and Bassus are in tenths) Orlando di Lasso: Sämtliche Werke (Neue Reihe) xviii, ed. Göllner, p. 37.

Notes to Chapter VII

1. Vincenti's preface to the Spartidura delli motetti reads: "Aspettate honorati virtuosi da me continuamente nove inventioni per facilitar la strada alle fatiche, con Intavolature, Passagi, & Paritdure: delle quale gia ne ho fatto alquante forte, & ne andro tuttavia facendo...". The penultimate phrase implies that Vincenti has already printed other "closed" scores, and refers presumably to his publication of Spirindio's Intavolature and of Diruta's 1593 treatise on organ-playing.
2. See the preface to Banchieri, "Missa Paratum Cor Meum", ed. E. Capaccioli, Antiquae Musicae Italicae Monumenta Bononiensia, 1968, p. vii, and Horsley, "Full and Short Scores in the Accompaniment of Italian Church Music in the Early Baroque", JAMS, xxx, 1977, p. 470; Horsley assumes that Vincenti "had not found the short-score partiture as successful as he had hoped".
3. Arnold G, p. 155; Vincenti's preface makes it clear that the simple transcription is the publisher's own handiwork. Horsley (op. cit.), p. 470, cites the bassi seguenti for Vecchi's 1598 motets, which are unbarred and fully texted, as strongly indicating that "earlier organists may have accompanied a choir by reading from the vocal bass part".
4. It has not been ascertained whether the manuscript organ part is an exact contemporary of the vocal part-books; for a facsimile of part of the manuscript, see Plate XII.
5. Giulio Belli's masses and motets a8 of 1595 were reissued with organ bass in 1607; a separate organ bass was issued in 1608, possibly to complement the 1595 sets in choir-libraries. His 1596 psalms a8 were complemented by a separate organ basso generale in 1607. Mortaro's 1599 psalms a8 were reissued in 1604 with a "partium gravium sectione pro organi pulsatoris commoditate".
6. "Threnos... cum diceret eos tunc manuscriptos in lucem proferri debuisset."
7. See Mendel, "Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries", MQ, xxxiv, 1948, from whose translations the passages by Diruta, Cerone and Praetorius are drawn.
8. "La maggior parte de gl'Organi sono alti, fuori del Tuono Choristo, bisogna che l'organista si accomodi à sonare fuor di strada, un Tuono, & una Terza bassa."
9. "Ad abbassare l'organo della chiesa maggiore di un semitono in circa, in modo che il tono di detto organo corrisponda al coro ed ai concerti che si fanno..."; in Cesari, "La musica in Cremona nella seconda metà del secolo XVI", IMAMI, vi, 1939, p. xvi.

10. Ibid., p. xvi: "... gli organisti son sforzati suonare fuori di tuon più basso per accommodar li cantori".
11. See Mendel (op. cit.) pp. 336-347.
12. Ibid., loc. cit.
13. Garbelotto, V, p. 263: "Cassazione del ms. Pre Antonino da Perna, cantore soprano per negligenza al suo dovere. Gli vien condotto ms. Francesco Borghesan, suonatore di cornetto...".
14. Garbelotto, VI, p. 76: "... il Violino come instrumento acuto et di gran spirito nelli conserti...".
15. Viz. Culley (op. cit.) p. 87.
16. The contemporary practice of doubling the cantus firmus on the organ pedals was not prevalent in Italy, due to the scarcity of pedal-boards.
17. Arnold, "Monteverdi's Church Music: Some Venetian Traits", Monthly musical record, lxxxv, 1955, p. 84.
18. Viadana's Preface is transcribed in Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, 1950, pp. 419-423.
19. Ibid., p. 421.
20. H. Mayer Brown, Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music, 1976, p. 56.
21. Ibid., pp. 47, 57.
22. Ibid., p. 76.
23. Bottrigari, "Il Desiderio, 1594", translated Carol MacClintock, (Musicological Studies and Documents, ix,) 1962, p. 57.
24. Casimiri P, p. 161.
25. Tagmann (op. cit.) p. 73.
26. Culley (op. cit.) p. 83.
27. Bryant (op. cit.) p. 108.
28. Glixon, Music at the Venetian Scuole Grandi, 1440-1540, (in progress).
29. Viz. 1578 Vespers psalms for four voci pari; settings for Tenebrae, 1584; 1587 Compline psalms; 1599 Vespers psalms for three voci pari.
30. "Dialogue", The New Grove, v, pp. 416, 419.
31. Smither, "The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio", JAMS, xx, 1967, p. 403.

Notes to Chapter VII(cont ...)

32. I would classify Andrea Gabrieli's 1583 Penitential Psalms as motets for this purpose.
33. Vicentino recommends that secular dialogues be performed by the forces in a single group.
34. Roncaglia M, p. 49.
35. Cesari, "La Musica in Cremona ...", (op. cit.) p. xv.
36. Sartori, "La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Salò", (op. cit.).
37. Casimiri P: "~~t~~anti spesi per far portar tavole e scagni in choro per far conserti".
38. Ibid.; entry for 7th December: "il palto (recte palco) per li cantori che fecce il concerto per la Madonna".

Notes to Chapter VIII

1. Italian terms were also used: e.g. mutate for pares; piene and ordinarie for comunes.
2. Fattorini's preface reads: "Sacri Concerti a 2 voci facili ... a voci piene, & mutate a beneplacito de cantori". Fattorini's concerti have been discussed in detail in "Gabriele Fattorini: Rival of Viadana" by Christopher Wilkinson, Music and Letters, lxxv, 1984, pp. 329-336.
3. Arnold, "Formal Design ..." (op. cit.) pp. 187-188, reinforces this view à propos Monteverdi's choice of styles in psalm-settings.
4. Lockwood CR, p. 212.
5. Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise: A Code for the Seconda Pratica", JAMS, ix, 1956, p. 89, ex. 3.
6. Lockwood notes that Ruffo paid scrupulous attention to the provision of accidentals for the printer.
7. Giuseppe Vecchi, "L'opera didattico-teorica di Adriano Banchieri in rapporto alla 'nuova prattica'", Congresso internazionale di studi: Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo, 1968, p. 386.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

i) Chronological list of printed music sources used

A year in brackets indicates the first year of publication of the collection; all prints emanate from Venice unless otherwise indicated.

1565

Guami, Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci, 5vv.

1566

Boyleau, Modulationes in Magnificat ... addito insuper concentu, vulgo falso bordon nominato ..., 4, 5, 6vv., (Milan).

1569

Pratoneri, Harmonia super aliquos Dividis psalmos ... ad vespervas, 6vv.

1570

Asola, Missae tres ad voces quinque ... liber primus, 5vv.

Asola, Missae tres senis vocibus ... liber secundus, 6vv.

Baccusi, Missarum cum quinque et sex vocibus liber primus, 5, 6vv.

1572

Gabrieli, Andrea, Primus liber missarum sex vocum ..., 6vv.

Vinci, Il secondo libro de motetti ..., 5vv.

1573

Chamaterò, Salmi corista ... secondo l'ordine del concilio di Trento, comodi alle voci, accompagnate anco con ogni sorte di instrumenti musicali ..., 8vv.

Ingegneri, Liber primus missarum cum quinque et octo vocibus, 5, 8vv.

Isnardi, Missae quatuor vocum ..., 4vv.

1574

Asola, Le messe a quattro voci pari sopra li otto toni ... libro primo, 4vv.

Asola, Psalmodia ad vespertinas ... octonis vocibus decantanda, 8vv.

Mayner (Mainerio), Magnificat octo tonorum ..., 4vv.

Ruffo, Salmi suavissimi et devotissimi ..., 5vv.

1575

Asola, Falsibordoni per cantar salmi ... Et anco per cantar gli hymni secondo il suo canto fermo ..., 4vv.

Chamaterò, Li magnificat ..., 8, 9, 12vv.

1576

Asola, Completorium per totum annum quatuorque illae B. Virginis antiphonae ..., 6vv (1573).

Asola, Messa pro defunctis ... si vis etiam alterum canere chorum in secundo volumine quaerito ..., 4vp.

Asola, Vespertina ... psalmodia ..., 6vv.

Gabrieli, Andrea, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vorum ... liber primus, 4vv.

Massaino, Motectorum cum quinque et sex vocibus liber primus, 5, 6vv.

Pasquali, Bonifacio, I salmi che si cantano ... al Vespro ... et un Magnificat a otto, 5, 8vv.

1578

Asola, Vespertina ... psalmodia, iuxta decretum sacrosancti Tridenti concilij ..., 4vv.

Asola, Secundus chorus vespertinae ... psalmodiae, 4vp.

Antegnati, Liber primus missarum ..., 6, 8vv.

Balbi, Lodovico, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum ..., 4vv.

Merulo, Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, 5vv.

Merulo, Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, 5vv.

Rossi, Flaviano, Psalmorum vesperarum ... liber primus, 4vv.

Ruffo, Li Magnificat brevi et aierosi ..., 5vv.

1579

Baccusi, Motectorum cum quinque, sex et octo vocibus liber primus, 5, 6, 8vv.

Corona, Vespertini psalmi ..., 6vv.

Colombano, Harmonia super vespertinos ... psalmos, 6vv.

Feliciani, Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 5vv.

Isnardi, Psalmi omnes qui ad vespertas decantantur et compositiones falsi bordoni vulgo appellatae ..., 5vv.

Riccio, Magnificat octo tonorum, 4, 5, 6, 8vv. (Kölnisberg).

1580

Massaino, Sacri cantus quinque paribus vocibus concinendi ... liber secundus, 5vp.

Ruffo, Messe a cinque voci ... nuovamente composte, secondo la forma del Concilio Tridentino ..., 5vv.

Sabino, Ippolito, Madrigali a cinque voci ... libro secondo, 5vv.

1581

Canali, Sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta dicuntur ..., 4vv.

Cavaccio, Magnificat omnitonum liber primus, 4vv.

Isnardi, Missarum cum quinque vocibus liber secundus, 5vv.

Pontio, Missarum liber secundus, 5vv.

1582

Nanino, Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 5vv., (1579).

Zallamella, Musica, 5vv.

1583

Asola, Duplex completorium romanum unum communibus, alterum vero paribus vocibus ... chorus primus, 4vv.

Asola, Introitus missarum ... & alleluia ac musica super cantu plano, 4vv. (Brescia).

Asola, In passionibus quatuor evangelistarum Christi locutio, 3vv.

Asola, Prima pars musices continens officium hebdomadae sanctae ..., 4vv.

Colombano, Li dilettevoli Magnificat ... accommodati per cantar & sonar in concerto, 9, 14vv.

Gabrieli, Andrea, Psalmi Davidici, qui poenitentiales nuncupantur ..., 6vv.

1584

Asola, Secunda pars continens officium hebdomadae sanctae ..., 4vv.

Asola, Secundi chori ... quae in secunda parte musices maioris hebdomadae concinuntur, 4vv.

Colombano, Armonia super Davidicos vesperarum psalmos ..., 5vv. (Milan/Brescia).

Gabrieli, Andrea, Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum ... liber primus, 5vv.

Mel, Rinaldo del, Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci, 6vv.

1585

Asola, Completorium per totum annum ..., 6vv.

Asola, Completorium romanum ..., 8vv.

Belli, Girolamo, Sacrae cantiones sex vocibus ... liber primus, 6vv.

Colombano, Completorium et cantiones ... falsi bordoni sex ordinibus distinctae, 5vv. (Brescia)

Isnardi, Omnes ad vespervas psalmi, qui falso (ut aiunt) bordonio concini possunt ..., 4vv.

Pontio, Missarum cum quinque vocibus liber tertius, 5vv.

Sacrae cantiones ... de festis praecipuis totius anni,
ed. Lindner, (Nuremberg).

1586

Asola, Psalmi ad tertiam ... chorus primus, 4vv.

Belli, Giulio, Missarum cum quinque vocibus liber primus, 5vv.

Cardilli, Sacrarum modulationum liber secundus ..., 5vv.

1587

Asola, Nova vespertina ... psalmodia, 8vv.

Colombano, Ad vespervas Davidice modulationes ..., 9vv.

Faà, Salmi di David profeta con tre Magnificat, et altri componimenti ... con alcuni salmi che mancavano,
5, 6, 8vv. (Brescia), (1573).

Gabrieli, Andrea et Giovanni, Concerti ... Continenti musica di chiesa, madrigali, & altro ... libro primo et secondo,
6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16vv.

Gratiani, Psalmi omnes ad Vespervas ..., 4vv.

Ingegneri, Liber secundus missarum ... quinis vocibus, 5vv.

Massaino, Secundus liber missarum quinque vocibus, 5vv.

Vecchi, Orazio, Lamentationes ..., 4vp.

1588

Asola, Lamentationes impropria et alia sacrae laudes, 3vv.

Asola, Missae dua decemque sacrae laudes, 3vv.

Asola, Missae quatuor, 5vv.

Canali, Missae, Introitus ac motecta, 4vv. (Brescia).

Castro, Jean de, Madrigali ..., 3vv.

Gastoldi, Psalmi ad vespervas ..., 4vv.

Massaino, Concentus ... in universos psalmos ... in vespervis ... frequentatos ... cum tribus Magnificat, quorum ultimum novem vocum modulatione copulatur, 5, 9vv.

1589

Libro delle laudi spirituali ... ridutta la musica a più brevità e facilità ..., 3, 4vv. (Rome).

Lodi devote per usi della dottrina christiana, 4vv. (Genoa)

Pontio, Psalmi vesperarum ..., 4vv.

Pratoneri, Harmonia super omnes Davidis psalmos ..., 6vv. (1569)

Trombetti, Ascanio, Il primo libro de motetti accomodati per cantare et far concerti, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12vv.

Tudini, Missae quinque vocum liber primus, 5vv.

1590

Asola, Vespertina ... psalmodia ... ternis variata choris ac omni instrumentorum genere modulanda, 12vv.

Corollarium cantionum sacrarum ... de festis praecipuis anni, ed. Lindner, (Nuremberg)

Isnardi, Missarum cum sex vocibus, liber primus ..., 6vv.

Isnardi, Psalmi omnes ad vespervas ..., 4vv.

Massaino, Motectorum quinque vocum ... liber tertius, 5vv.

Vecchi, Orazio, Motecta ..., 4, 5, 6, 8vv.

1591

Asola, Missae tres totidemque sacrae laudes ... liber secundus, 5vv.

Croce, Compietta ..., 8vv.

Magnificat ... secundum octo vulgares musicae modos, ed. Linder (sic), 4, 5vv., (Nuremberg)

1592

Antegnati, Salmi ..., 8vv.

Bendinelli, Sacrarum cantionum quatuor vocibus ... liber primus, 4, 8vv.

Clinio, Missarum sex vocibus liber primus, 6vv.

Massaino, Sacri modulorum concentus ..., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12vv.

Pontio, Missarum quatuor vocibus liber tertius, 4vv.

Sacra omnium solemnitatum Psalmodia vespertina ..., éd. Asola, 5vv.

1593

Asola, Officium defunctorum ..., 4vv.

Baccusi, Missarum cum quinque, & novem vocibus, liber quartus, 5, 9vv.

Merulo, Il secondo libro de motetti a sei voci, con giunta di motetti a sette per concerti & per cantare, 6, 7vv.

1594

Alberti, Motetti à sei voci ... libro secondo, 6vv.

Mel, Rinaldo del, Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 5vv.

Zachariis, Cesare de, Intonationes vespertinarum precum ... (quae vulgo Falsibordoni dicuntur), 4vv.

1595

Asola, Officium maioris hebdomadae ... Et in eisdem passionibus, Christi locutio, ternis vocibus, 4vp.

Banchieri, Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci ..., 8vv.

Belli, Giulio, Missarum, sacrarumque cantionum octo vocibus, liber primus, 8vv.

Clinio, Sacrae quatuor Christi Domini passiones, 3, 4, 6vv.

Cortellini, Salmi ..., 6vv.

Fonghetti, Lamentationes in hebdomada maiori decantandae ..., 3vv. (Verona).

Merulo, Il primo libro de motetti a sei voci, 6vv. (1583)

Rota, Missarum ... liber primus, 4, 5, 6vv.

1596

Asola, Secundus chorus duplicis completorii romani, quorum primum paribus, alterum vero communibus decantantur ..., 4vv. (1587)

Belli, Giulio, Psalmi ad vespas ..., 8vv.

Croce, Messe a cinque voci libro primo, 5vv.

Croce, Messe a otto voci, 8vv.

Croce, Salmi che si cantano a Terza ..., 8vv.

Massaino, Sacri cantiones sex vocibus ... liber secundus, 6vv.

Pontio, Hymni solemniore ad vespertinas horas canendi, 4vv.

Psalmodia Vespertina integra, 5vv., (Milan)

Sorte, Missarum liber primus ... additisq; Psalmis ad tertiam,
4, 5, 8vv.

1597

Croce, Motetti a quattro voci ... libro primo, 5vv.

Croce, Vespertina ... psalmodia ..., 8vv.

Gastoldi, Completorium perfectum ... quaternis vocibus liber secundus, 4vv.

Lambardi, Antiphonarium Vespertinum ... secunda pars, 4vv.

Magri, Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae ... Benedictus, et Miserere, cum hymno ad crucem ..., 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13vv.

Scarabelli, Magnificat ..., 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12vv.

Vecchi, Orazio, Sacrarum cantionum ... liber secundus, 5, 6, 7, 8vv.

Viadana, Vespertina ... Psalmodia ..., 5vv.

1598

Bassano, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici ..., 5, 6, 7, 8, 12vv.

Mortaro, Sacrae cantiones ... cum sua partitione instrumentis etiam accommodatae, 3, 6vv., (Milan)

1599

Asola, Secundi chori vespertinae ... psalmodiae, 3vp.

Bassano, Concerti ecclesiastici ... libro secondo,
5, 6, 7, 8, 12vv.

Belli, Giulio, Missarum quatuor vocibus liber primus, 4vv.

Croce, Messe a cinque e sei voci, 5, 6vv.

Croce, Motetti a otto voci ... comodi per le voci, e per cantar con ogni stromento, 8vv. (1594)

Croce, Septem psalmi poenitentiales, 6vv. (Nuremberg)

Donato, Il primo libro de motetti ..., 5, 6, 8vv.

Giovanelli, Ruggiero, Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, 5vv. (1593)

Gratiani, Missarum ... liber primus, 5vv.

Massaino, Musica super Threnos Ieremie prophete, 5vv.

Quintiani, Musica ... in introitus missarum super cantu plano ..., 4vv., (Milan).

Selectissimarum missarum flores ..., (Antwerp).

1600

Belli, Giulio, Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12vv.

Gastoldi, Integra ... vespertina psalmodia ... quinis vocibus infractis canenda, 5vv.

Gastoldi, Messe a cinque et a otto voci ... libro primo, 5, 8vv.

Magnificat octo tonorum ..., 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12vv., (Nuremberg).

Naldi, Motectorum duobus choris ... liber primus, 8, 12, 16vv.

Viadana, Officium Defunctorum, 4vp.

1601

Asola, Secundus liber in quo reliquae missae octonis compositae tonis, 4vv. (1581).

Croce, Sacrae cantiones ..., 5vv.

Gastoldi, Tutti li salmi che ... al vespro si cantono ... con duoi cantici della B. Vergine ... uno del secondo tuono, che risponde in eco, 8vv.

Gratiani, Completorium romanum, 8vv.

Vecchi, Orfeo, ... Psalmos vulgo paenitentiales, sacrarum modulationum, quae Motecta nuncupantur, 6vv., (Milan).

Viadana, Missarum cum quatuor vocibus ... Liber primus, 4vv.

1602

Asola, Psalmi ad vespertinas ... horas, 3vv.

Gastoldi, Vespertina ... psalmodia, quinis vocibus decantanda ... liber secundus, 5vv.

1603

Canali, Sacrae cantiones sex vocibus ... liber primus ..., 6vv.

Capilupi, Motectorum sex & octo vocibus ... liber primus, 6, 8vv.

Gratiani, Vesperis per tutto l'anno, 8vv.

1604

Belli, Giulio, Psalmi ad vespertas ..., 6vv. (1603)

Mortaro, Psalmi ad vespertas ..., 8vv., (Milan), (1599).

Viadana, Officium ac Missa defunctorum, 5vv.

1605

Cavaccio, Hinni correnti in tutti i tempi dell'anno ..., 4vv.

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